

JANUARY, 1915

*The*

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# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



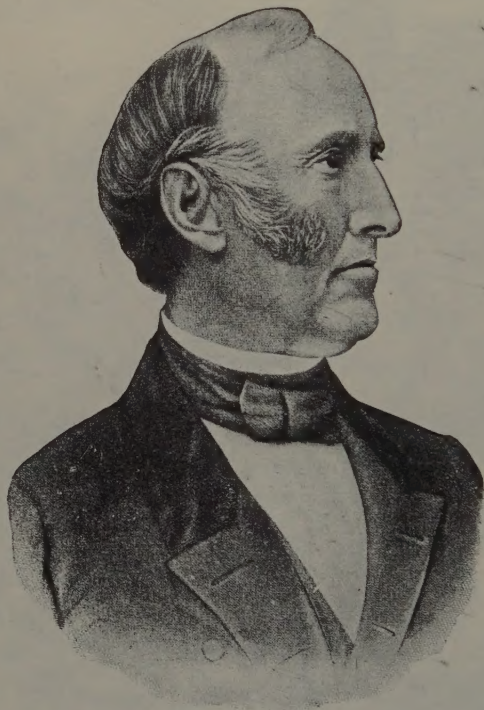
"Rise like lions after slumber  
In unvanquishable number—  
Shake your chains to earth like dew  
Which in sleep had fallen on you—  
Ye are many: they are few."—*Shelley.*



# The Story of Wendell Phillips

By Charles Edward Russell

WHEN, before the War, Wendell Phillips denounced chattel slavery, he was assailed by the slaveholding interests of the South; when, after the war, he rejected all proffers of high political office and threatened wage-slavery, he was assailed by the manufacturing interests of the North. In both instances he threatened somebody's profits. That was all, and for this reason Southern fire-eaters offered a price for his head.



Yet, in his long life of ceaseless activities, he debated for no crown, argued for no fees, strove for no reward, sought no place nor any fame, cared for no achievement for its own sake, and used his unequalled gifts only for some cause of justice or freedom in which he could earn nothing but obloquy, hatred and isolation.

No man ever gave up more for the sake of his faith. All his brilliant career was wrecked in an instant. His friends and family deserted him. Some of his relatives declared that he was insane and planned to have him confined in an asylum. The press covered him with ridicule and abuse.

For more than twenty years he lived in daily danger of his life, with a price on his head.

When a cause was won, as in the case of the abolition of slavery in the South, and in the natural revulsion of popular feeling men sought to make him its hero, he put aside their tributes and demanded their attention to the next unpopular reform.

Compared with such a career, the stories of the men that on the grounds of material triumph have won place in the world's regard, seem poor indeed. They toiled for themselves, or for the glory of achievement.

This man's single and unselfish purpose was to win better conditions for the unfortunate, wherever they might be, to strive against injustice, to further brotherhood, to spread liberty.

As ardently as other men sought wealth and power, he sought the Common Good.

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## The Ancient Lowly

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By C. OSBORNE WARD

Nearly all the ancient histories in the libraries are the histories of kings and their wars. The ancient historians despised the people who did useful work; their praise and their attention were reserved for the soldiers. The real story of the working people of Egypt and India, of Greece and of the Roman Empire was lost or buried out of sight.

It was the life work of C. Osborne Ward to dig up and reconstruct the true story of the working people of the ancient world. Not content with studying thousands of ancient volumes and manuscripts, he journeyed hundreds of miles on foot around the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, deciphering and translating inscriptions telling parts of the forgotten story of the ancient workers. The results of his research are summed up in two large volumes over 1400 pages.

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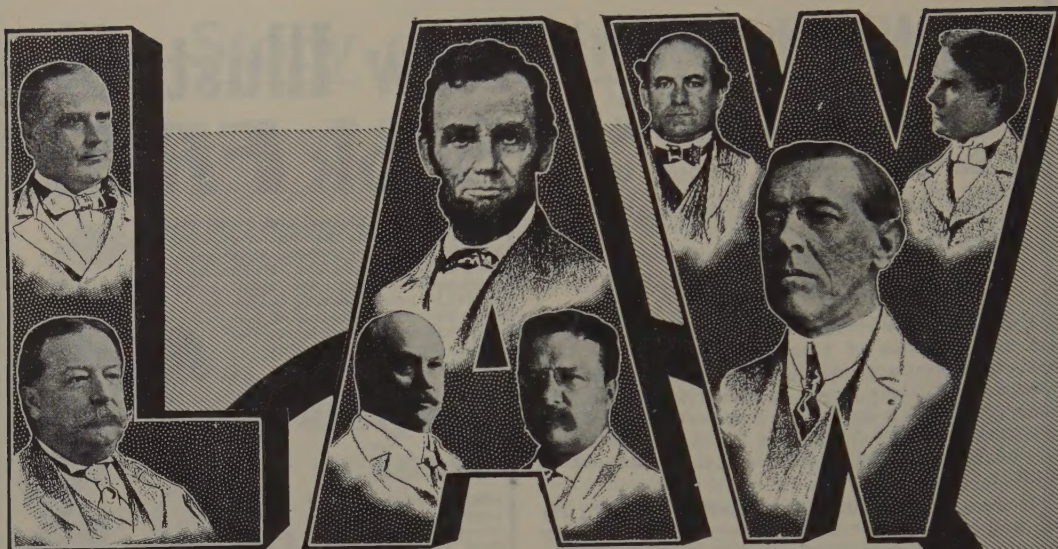
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**INTERNATIONAL  
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Edited by Charles H. Kerr

No. 7

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# *The* INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XV

JANUARY, 1915

No. 7

## NEWS FROM EUROPE

By WILLIAM E. BOHN

**German Socialists.**—When, on August 4th, the Socialist group in the Reichstag voted for the first German war loan many comrades in other countries set to work to defend them. In spite of their eagerness—perhaps because of it—their defense sounded hollow. Somehow, it was hard to believe that their heart was in it.

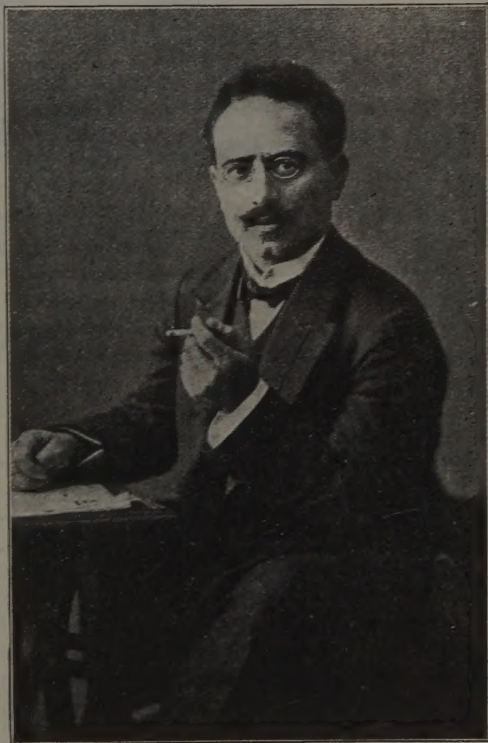
**Liebknecht, a Socialist Independent** On December 2nd came news of a different sort. On that day a new loan of \$1,250,000,000 was voted by the Reichstag. And one Socialist, Karl Liebknecht, a true son of his father and of the old German movement, voted against it. The news went round the world like an electric shock. There was a sigh of relief, a cry of joy, a spontaneous recognition of a true deed. Even the timid ones, those who felt obliged to defend the action of August 4th, greeted Liebknecht's act as right. Obviously, they were glad to hear that the German parliamentarians had done something that needed no apology. There is nothing like courage to reveal cowardice. A right deed is recognized on the instant. It needs no encyclopedia of defense.

There is no confirmation of the story that Liebknecht has been disciplined. In fact this tale followed so close on the

**Other Germans Whose Socialism Survives the War** heels of the news of his independent stand that it was obviously manufactured. And although he was the

only member of the Reichstag who had the nerve to rebel against party discipline, he does not stand alone. Before his anti-war vote was recorded there appeared

in the press a statement signed by him, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, and Clara Zetkin. This declaration had to be worded in such a way that it could get past the censor's office. Nevertheless, it is sufficiently clear to show what is going on in the Social-Democracy. Here it is: "In the Socialist press of the neutral countries of Sweden, Italy and Switzerland, Comrades Dr. Südekum and Richard Fischer have attempted to por-



KARL LIEBKNECHT.





ROSA LUXEMBURG

RECENTLY SENTENCED TO ONE YEAR IN PRISON BY THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT BECAUSE SHE ADVISED THE SOLDIERS TO REBEL AGAINST THEIR OFFICERS.

tray the attitude of the German Social Democrats toward the war in the light of their own ideas. We feel ourselves forced by this to explain in the same place that we, and certainly many other German Social Democrats, look on the war, its causes and character, as well as on the role of Social Democrats at the present time, from a standpoint which in no way corresponds to that of Dr. Südecum and Herr Fischer."

Franz Mehring has never been regarded as especially radical. If he is true to the International there can be no doubt of the fact that many of the rank and file have also remained true. And our women comrades have a right to feel proud of Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxem-

burg. The Imperial Foreign Office has evidently not been able to fool all the women of the German working class.

It is not by any means too early to be thinking about the reorganization of the international movement. A good deal of

**The Germans and the International** opposition has developed against the proposal of our own Executive Committee

to hold an international conference in the immediate future. The French are making determined opposition to the move. They maintain that this is no time to talk of peace. The proposal of the Swiss Socialists to reopen the International Bureau in a neutral country is also opposed by the French. Their opposition is based



on the notion that it is unfair to remove the Bureau from Belgium at the present time. Vorwaerts answers, very sensibly, that it is impossible to carry on the work of the Bureau in a country which is occupied by one of the warring forces. But at any rate the reorganization of the International is being postponed much longer than necessary.

But the reorganization must come. And it is important that we should be clarifying our thought with regard to it. The obvious question relates to what the Germans will do or what is to be done with them. If we have a right to rejoice at the revolutionary courage and insight shown by some of our German comrades, it becomes more evident day by day that some Germans who have heretofore been regarded as Socialists have no right in the International movement. The attempt of some, for example, to persuade the Italian party that it should use its influence in favor of involving Italy in the war was nothing short of treason to the workingclass of the world. A man who would do a thing like that would do anything. If he is a Socialist the word has lost its meaning.

Another enlightening incident is now going the rounds of the press. The Chemnitzer Volkstimme, a party paper, has, apparently, become a jingo of the jingoes. Here is a paragraph from one of its editorials: "The affair of our brothers in the field of war is our affair. We must not write one line even which makes their hard and bloody work harder or longer. We must deliver to them the press and the organization undamaged and as strong as possible. When they return from the battlefields they will have again to fight for bread and freedom in civil clothes. In order that we may be able to live in safety they sacrifice themselves. The one who does not scrutinize each article and each line he writes so that he can stand before our comrades on the fields of battle does not understand his duty during war. From this leading principle our acceptance of the Burgfrieden (inter-class harmony in time of danger) directly follows. Any internal strife gives new hope to our enemies. We irrevocably support that which Scheidemann wrote to America, 'In the present war the whole German nation is a unit.'

The Party has no right to deviate from this general policy."

There is no telling at the present time how large a number of German party members are represented by this astounding paragraph. But no matter how many of them there are, they have no right to call themselves Socialists. And there is no doubt of the fact that their apostasy will be formally recognized when the International reorganizes. Even Eduard Bernstein has disowned them.

Before this editorial was published Belfort Bax wrote in London Justice: "What the 'Party' is that is unified, what its aims and aspirations are, is apparently quite a secondary consideration. For the 'Revisionists' certainly the 'Party' is everything, its principles nothing. And it must not be forgotten that the canker of Revisionism has eaten far into the vitals of the 'Party.' Has not Dr. Frank, one of the Revisionist leaders, declared to a Daily Mail correspondent that 'the great idea of the overwhelming bulk of German Socialists is the establishment of a genuinely constitutional monarchy and parliamentary government on English lines?' Dr. Südekum, and certain other Revisionists, we understand, defend the Prussian government in the present war. The 'Party,' I suppose, for fear of breaking up its precious 'unity,' will retain the Franks, the Südekums and the Schippels in its midst, and what is more, will expect consistent Social-Democrats to sit together with such men at International Congresses. As for us, we say 'Damn unity,' at such a price!"

Some of Belfort Bax's surplus of heat may be due to the fact that he is an Englishman. And he is wrong in supposing that the present division is between Revisionists and Revolutionists. The war has proved that that division was either imaginary or purely theoretical. In Germany, as in England, some of those whom we have called Revisionists have fought bravely and energetically for Socialism and against the war. And some whom we have called Revolutionists have gone mad as the maddest in their revilings of those whom they regard as national enemies. The division is now not between Revisionists and Revolutionists, but between Socialists and non-Socialists.



But in general the position of Belfort Bax is correct. About internationalism the Socialist movement has heretofore been agreed. The movement as a whole has not changed its mind because three or four government cabinets, pushed on by various influences behind them, have plunged a good part of the world into war. Not to mention the Socialists of neutral countries, who have not been tried in the fire, many of those immediately involved have been true to their faith. The Italians, the Russians, the majority of the English have been true beyond the shadow of a doubt. To force them back into a party which includes, let us say, the editor of the *Chemnitzer Volkstimme*, would be merely to perpetuate an organization without unity, without purpose, without meaning. The thing cannot be done.

**Russian Socialists.**—Some time ago Emile Vandervelde sent a letter to the comrades in Russia. He had learned that they were opposing the war. He wanted to persuade them to give up their opposition. He told them that the cause of the allies is the cause of civilization, that the great thing is to beat the Kaiser and German militarism.

Mr. Emile Vandervelde got out of Russia an answer that must have made him sit up. Russian civilization may not be

**Against Both** up to the mark of western Europe. But Russian Socialists are above **Kaiser and Czar** par. It is more than ever clear that the great eastern autocracy will be taken care of by its own rebels.

Here is part of the answer that came out of Russia: "We Russian Social Democrats do not overlook the anti-democratic character of the Prussian government, but we cannot forget that other enemy of the workingclass and of all democracy, the Russian absolutism. This absolutism remains unchanged as to its internal policies. In Russia we still have the same old despotism and exploitation. Even now, in the midst of the war, when we might have expected it to be more cautious and magnanimous, our absolutist government has remained true to its nature; it persecutes our various subject nationalities and the entire workingclass now as it always has. All So-

cialist papers are suppressed; all workingclass organizations have been broken up; arrests and banishments without investigation or judicial procedure are still taking place. And if the war should result in a complete victory for Russia, without a democratization of political power, this government would continue to pursue its anti-proletarian policies inside as well as outside of its own boundaries. Under these circumstances Russia might become the world leader in the work of reaction.

"On this account the Russian Social Democracy cannot under any circumstances consider the conclusion of even a temporary truce with the Russian government. Among us there can be no question of a betrayal of our faith. On the contrary, we regard it as our duty to carry on against the Russian government an unrelenting warfare on the basis of the demands made by the Russian proletariat during the revolutionary movement of 1905 and renewed since the revival of the movement during the past two years.

"Our task during this war is to utilize the present crisis to develop the organizations of the working class and the democracy and to enlighten the whole people to the end that our demands of 1905 may be the more easily secured. \* \* \*

"After the close of the war there will come a time when it will be necessary to develop the forces of democracy with great rapidity. If, then, the reactionary power of Russia stands victorious in our path, with increased power and reputation, it will constitute the greatest imaginable obstacle to democratic development. We regard it as our duty, therefore, to oppose the Russian government in the interest of Russian freedom. In doing this we feel that we are serving the democracy of the world; for we are concerned for the world movement, as are all the members of the working class International."

This document is signed by the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party, the so-called Majority Group.

**War and Labor.**—War kills people and demolishes cathedrals. It also smashes wage schedules and standards of living. Our prophets are busy telling what a glorious new world is to be ushered in



by the activity of howitzers and submarines. It may come. But the new world which has already evolved is far from glorious. Social achievements which have taken fifty years in the making have disappeared in less than fifty days.

Getting behind and beneath the war news is like getting a glimpse of hell. We, on the safe side of our three thousand miles of salt water, talk a good deal about the unifying impulse of a great national effort, about the moral elation that goes with sacrifice for the fatherland, etc., etc. Listen to such talk for five minutes and then read the following article from the *Berlin Vorwaerts*. It appeared on November 4th:

"The terrible poverty which has resulted from the war has forced into the background the natural opposition between employers and employees. In a large number of industries employers' associations and labor unions have concluded agreements with the purpose of guaranteeing the continuation of the industry and the enforcement of conditions agreed upon. The common activities undertaken with the latter end in view are especially noteworthy; they bear testimony to the importance which both sides attach to wage schedules. The maintenance of union wages is also important to society as a whole, and this fact has been fully recognized by the military authorities. They have recently made energetic opposition to unjustifiable attempts to reduce wages.

"All the more remarkable, therefore, appears the fact that the German Employers' Journal regards the present time as a suitable one for breaking a lance in favor of a wage reduction. A writer in this journal argues that since wages rose when the industrial situation improved it is 'economically unintelligible' that an attempt should be made to keep wages up during the present industrial depression. If an attempt is made to maintain wages at their former level it appears to the Employers' Journal questionable 'whether this policy is justifiable from the point of view of the general public.'

"The author of this article is looking to the future. He expects the 'adaptation of wages to the existing conditions' to result in a renewal of industrial enterprise. After the restoration of peace industry will not immediately regain the position from which it fell with the opening of hostilities. Moreover millions of 'hands' will be thrown upon the labor market. Work must be found for them. 'Finally there will be a return to normal conditions and the entrance into a new era in the development of world industry. It is to be doubted whether it will be at all possible under these circumstances to maintain wages at their former level. But a general reduction after the war might result in very serious internal conflicts.'

"The Employers' Journal forgets that the labor unions will still be in existence and will resist to the uttermost such a reduction of wages. For the preservation of industrial life it is necessary to keep money in circulation. But this can be kept up only by the employment of the largest possible number of workers at regular rates of wages. In industries which have suffered most from the war employers and employees have agreed to a greatly shortened work-day. This means a decided diminution of income for the workers, even without any reduction in the wage rate. The proposal to reduce wages still further in spite of the advanced cost of living is not to be thought of."

The remarks of the Employers' Journal are vastly more interesting than the answer made by the editor of *Vorwaerts*. The capitalist scribe evidently foresees the possibility of a revolutionary uprising after the war. His suggestion of a possible means of heading off such an event shows real political foresight. He says, in effect, "Reduce the workers to such a state of poverty during the war that they will stand anything in time of peace." Evidently he is not at all deceived by the eloquent talk about the unity of classes in face of a great national danger. No matter how the fatherland is threatened he goes on attending to the business of keeping the working class in its place.





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IMITATING THEIR FATHERS—JAPANESE BOYS PLAYING SOLDIERS.

# BABES BRED FOR WAR

By MARY FIELD

From the November Number of Everyman.

ALL military governments, that is, all Christian governments, depend for their perpetuation and extension upon fruitful and obedient women. Given millions of docile women to breed armies, given cunning priests to extol fruitfulness, and kaisers and kings and Krupps will flourish forever.

Said Prince Bismarck with a shrug of his shoulder to a comment on the great number of men killed in one of the Franco-Prussian battles, "Oh well, we will have another crop in twenty years!"

It is crops of men that governments depend upon. At the outbreak of the war, the military nations of Europe took immediate steps to provide for the next crop of soldiers. Before the ranks mobilized the seed

of warriors was sown. In Germany all soldiers were urged to marry before leaving for the front, a brief furlough even being granted in order that there might be time for impregnation. In many churches hundreds of couples were married simultaneously that no time might be lost. One of the emperor's own sons set the example which thousands of marriageable men immediately followed. In some villages "holy matrimony" was recognized as the equivalent of an engagement. Everywhere throughout the fatherland distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate have become indistinct. An illegitimate son receives the support of the government. To bear children for the fatherland is of greater virtue than that they shall be born





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GERMAN BOYS BEING TAUGHT THE MANLY ART OF WAR.

of wedlock, for thrones are greater than altars and exigencies greater than ceremonies.

In England, marriage fees were cut in half, and later all fees were removed in order that there might not be a half crown's reason for delaying the crop. Clergymen married soldiers in depots, in open lots, anywhere, anyhow that the crop of human beings might not fail, that soldiers might not be lacking twenty years hence.

This wholesale breeding the military governments of Europe deliberately encouraged with the full knowledge that for years to come the spectres of pestilence, of starvation, of cold, of despair, of insanity and disease would haunt the steps of these babes from their cradles to the training camps. In twenty years if another war breaks out, one-fifth and more of the seeds which these governments now sow, will be murdered. And thus today in the wombs of hundreds of English brides are the embryos that in twenty years, as state-owned warriors, will march forth to disembowel the German youths that now sleep in the quiet darkness under their mother's hearts. Babes bred for

murder, bred by a state that prohibits and punishes murder!

Bred, what for? Bred that the colonies of England may be held for English commerce. Bred that Germany may expand her trade, stamp with the word "German" the products of the world; bred that Russia "may sit in the sun."

Empires need soldiers and soldiers must come through the bodies of women. Thus it is that in every country dedicated to commercialism, maintained by Christian teaching and the sword, all forms of murder except that legalized by the state and called "war" are punished. And especially must women be held accountable for the life which it is their duty to bring into the world. In times of peace the kings of industry need men for the factories, mines, mills and fields. In times of war, kings need men for the defense or the extension of their power. For kings and commercial lords and aristocrats women must breed, and no mother may say unto her own body "thou shalt not increase," nor say unto the unconscious life within her, "thou shalt not live." It mat-



ters not that she sees the unborn child shadowed by disease, driven by hunger, lashed by fear through his entire life. Only the king shall kill! Only the kaiser shall have power over the fruit of her body! She belongs to the state.

In all Christian countries the law is that abortion and even the spreading of the knowledge of means of prevention is punished with severity. The law means that no child can be killed until he is twenty-one—and even then, the state alone, the state which punishes the mother for a remotely similar crime, may take his life.

It is not because of the preciousness of life that there are laws against abortion, against the spreading of knowledge of controlling birth. Nothing but commerce is precious to the state. It is in time of war that the real reason for laws against abortion flash forth with vivid clearness. In the red glare of the camp fires women read the meaning of the law. In letters of blood women see the real meaning of their lives to the state, read that they are but breeding-machines for soldiers, that their bodies and their children belong no more to themselves than do the pigs in the stockyards.

Will this war make women think? Will it make them act? What if after this war, and yet another and still another, there were to come to women a great awakening? What if silently and secretly there were to take place in the minds and bodies of women a tremendous revolution so fundamental that it would rock thrones and decide the orbit of nations? What if women were to refuse to marry soldiers, to procreate soldiers, were to demand, that inasmuch as the state finally killed their offspring, they too, had the right to take life before it knew consciousness? What if they demanded that they and not kings be the arbiters of the fate of their children, they who gave them birth?

The birth force, the sex force is a tremendous power. It pulses through every atom of the universe. In our solar system are tremendous forces which man gradually learns to isolate and command. For thousands, yes millions of years, electricity flashed its presence across the sky before man's uncomprehending eyes. For eons of time the hills spoke no word to shivering mankind of the stores of coal which lay deep below the surface. Earth and air and water yet hold forces undiscovered. Much

of life is still written in cryptic forms. And greatest of unexplored forces is the mind of man and of woman. Woman, especially, still covers her eyes with her hands before the burning face of Science.

But all things change—shape and form and content and direction—and the minds of women. Thus in the dim centuries to come women may learn to control the life force, demanding that it be their right to swing back the gates of life, deciding that it is even more heroic to strike at the unborn child than years later to plunge a bayonet through his quivering breast.

And meanwhile? The war has raised the question in the minds of thinking women, what is this man-made state that fixes the laws of abortion and prevention? By what right does society make divorce well nigh impossible, and compel women to breed whether they will or no? Why do kaisers decide these matters and not nature? Do you say that were the mother to decide and not Law, the race would not continue. Look to Nature, you of little faith. Look in the hearts of women, you blind men, who believe in force. The love of children is the very tissue of woman's mind. There is not a woman in all the wide world, married or unmarried, who would take the life of the germ-child that was conceived in love, born to sure protection and loving support, born to a heritage of health and opportunity.

The difference between the act of the state and that of the mother is just this: The state when it kills has only its own aggrandizement in view; its motive is selfish; its object, financial gain, territory, power; whereas the motive of the mother in denying life is love of the child, unwillingness that it shall suffer. Perhaps poverty, shame, disease, struggle wait like ugly grey hags at the gates of birth for the unwelcome child. None of these things matters to the state. From these the mother would save her child. It is the inhumanity of man, the beastly inhumanity of war, that has commanded fruitfulness, fruitfulness not of quality but of quantity, vast numbers that ranks and divisions and companies and regiments and trenches and coffers may be filled.

Well may women question the laws which deny them the right to give or seek information on the subject of prevention, that deny the right to abort. In the light of the bargain-sale marriages in England, of the wholesale marriages of Germany and Aus-



tria and Russia, of the bonuses and premiums and bribes for the illegitimate, well may women say to their military governments—give us first peace, give us food, give us opportunity, give us the land, give us strong bodies before you punish us for destroying life. You insist that life shall live, at least until it is twenty-one, then give us the conditions that make for life, under which we best can breed and continue the human race. But until these conditions are granted we will continue to question your man-made law, we will continue to disobey your soldier-breeding mandates, disobey in secret as we have done for ages, your kaisers and priests, until we have the courage of our emotions and shall openly and brazenly, and for the love of humanity, defy the laws

of the land, stupid laws which forbid us to take life in order that life may be taken by the state.

When you say abortion is a crime let us look at Europe. "Hell in the field, rape in the towns and villages, plunder in the cities, blood and tears and sorrow everywhere, and around its edges a panic of terror." Life is sacred! Murder roars from a million guns, murder and rivers of blood, fields soaked with the blood of women's sons! Abortion a crime! Women who hate war should demand it as a right, as a blessing. Abortion a crime! That law makes gargoyles grin. And that law is going to make women think—slowly think, whose shall be the right to take human life.



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FRENCH PEASANT BURYING DEAD CAVALRYMAN.





# KEEP THE ISSUE CLEAR

By ROSCOE A. FILLMORE

TODAY the Socialist movement as a result of recent events finds itself in a peculiar position. With the exception of a few countries as yet not directly concerned in the present war, there is no remaining Socialist organization worthy of the name. And even in those countries efforts are being made by so-called Socialists to persuade the movement to jump into the present trouble as a bourgeois ethical society and save the day for capital.

The cause of this peculiar situation should be sought diligently and when discovered eradicated even though in so doing we cut down the movement numerically. And as proof that though charges of mistaken and even in many cases dishonest bourgeois tactics resorted to in several countries have injured the movement to an incalculable extent, allow me to point out the sort of movement that has been built up in Canada in the past few years by hewing to the line of the class struggle. The writer is a member of the S. P. of C., and was for some time a credentialed organizer. Bear in mind that Canada is at war, has sent an army to the field and is even now scouring the country for out-of-works, and the like sufficiently desperate to enlist for the second batch of cannon fodder.

Yet S. P. of C. is intact. Its organizers are still on the road in season and out of season, preaching the class struggle. Its campaigns are fought on that issue. Campaign speeches of organizers and candidates are not in advocacy of reforms but on the robbery of the slave at the point of production. The literature used is "Value,

Price and Profit." Socialism, Utopia to Science, a party organ and manifesto second to none in the English language. In short clear cut scientific line of books and pamphlets are handled. Absolutely no attempt is made to show "why physicians should be Socialists" or "why John D. Rockefeller should join the Socialist party." Its appeal is to the slaves. Any attempt to "swap" the movement for the sake of the votes of reformers, single taxers, Orangemen, Christadelphians or vegetarians, is put down with an iron hand. Result—a small movement it is true, but a movement solid as reinforced concrete. A steel organization for the workers to rally around when "the day" dawns.

When slavery came into being in the dawn of history, there also came into being as a direct result of it, the germ of law and government—the modern state in embryo.

At that date it was frankly and brutally an instrument of oppression and repression. Many centuries later, after society had passed successively through the various stages of chattel slavery and feudalism and modern industry was rising, the capitalist class found it necessary in its political fight with the then strong land-holding feudal aristocracy to pose as labor's friend and even enfranchised a large portion of the slaves in several countries. This led to confusion.

Capitalism had grown up within, and in course of time had overwhelmed feudalism. In the same manner once modern industry had gotten properly established, a new revolution became manifest. Intelligent revolt



on the part of the slaves became ever more inevitable. All the forces of the state and of society were and are to this day enlisted in the effort to confuse the slaves and therefore preclude the possibility of that revolt.

That vulture, the church, the prostituted intellects of countless cowards of the press, public platform, university and school—in short, any and every means at the disposal of the masters, has been used, and successfully so far, in the effort to kill all revolt in the slaves. Today the whole system of education is false. The curriculum of the public school and university is a mass of lies. History as taught is false as hell. Only the scientific materialist and Socialist can understand and therefore teach the history of man and his struggles through the ages.

As said above, the capitalist class enfranchised the workers to a certain extent. Gradually in various ways the workers have increased their alleged share in the government of many countries. But by diverse and devious ways the masters have managed to stultify what little political power the slaves wielded. The state did not lose any of its prerogatives. Rather its power, delegated to it by the masters, grew. State authority, cloaked and gloved in respectability and religion, could deal very gently with offenders when such a course seemed expedient. But whenever and wherever sleek looks and unctuous phrases failed to quiet the spirit of revolt, then the mailed fist and "Iron Heel" of oppression was made manifest. The beast showed his cloven hoof.

In ancient times the slave revolts were ruthlessly crushed without any hypocritical slobber and the rebels wiped out in tens of thousands. There could be no doubt in the minds of those slaves as to the function of the state. It was the slave driver, the agency by which the masters held their slaves and perpetuated slavery. It was the slave's deadly enemy.

Today in spite of the part the slave is supposed to play in the government we find when other methods fail that the state can be as ruthless as of old. The workers are shot down, imprisoned and tortured. The state performs its function as slave driver whether it be in pseudo democracies as England, United States and France, where capital is rampant and the only

power, or Russia and Germany, where a military aristocracy and powerful capitalist class divide the power. But even then the rising capitalist class is growing ever more powerful and holds the purse strings and the military dances only when those strings are loosed. "He who pays the piper may call the tune."

Today it matters not where we may turn international capital pays the piper and insists upon its prerogative.

As to the economic causes for the present war, they have been explained so frequently that it is but useless repetition to go into them. Suffice it to say that surplus value has played its full share in the matter. Surplus value in search of a foreign market is the root cause for this deplorable split in the "happy family" of international capital.

The foregoing is, I hope and trust, clear to most Socialists. Nevertheless I think it necessary that in view of the present situation, the apparent breaking up of the Socialist movement as constituted for the past years, the apparent abandonment by the workers in many lands of every pretense of class-consciousness—I repeat I believe it necessary that we who are still unmoved by the exigencies of capitalist commerce and consequent world war should get back to first principles and endeavor to found our next international upon the solid rock of the class war and a thorough understanding of society as at present constituted. In order that we may understand we must think as proletarians, not as pro-German or pro-British bourgeoisie.

Let us now, as class conscious slaves, examine the affair in Europe and not only in Europe, but the world over; for with a few notable exceptions we find the Socialists, and among them most of the "prominents" of the movement in all countries, jumping into prominence in an attempt to justify either Germany or the Allies. Capitalism hasn't sufficient apologists, the Socialists needs must take a hand!

In the *New Review*, issue of November, we have among other apologists one who has in the past made valuable contributions to the literature of the movements spoiling several pages to find justification for the Allies and weeping over Belgium. The article would be fine if written by Rev. Soundingboard, D. D., and published in the *Sunday School Times* or the *Wesleyan*. But



it possesses a peculiar significance coming from a Socialist.

He admits, "my emotional sympathies are very strongly with France." We commend his frankness. But why spend so much time and energy in attempting to whitewash English and French capitalism and the attitude of Belgian, French and English Socialists? We commend his frankness, but commiserate his lack of consistency as a Socialist.

He is under the impression that a feudalistic aristocracy holds complete and "awful" power in Germany, the land of modern industry, and cheap commodities and warns the world of the dire results of a victory for this class. Europe and finally the Americas are to relapse into feudalism, and a return of the Dark Ages, presumably! It is true the outer shell has a feudalistic appearance, but it looks like a safe bet that Germany, the land of cheap, market compelling commodities, will quickly throw that shell into the garbage can whenever a more "democratic" governmental system seems desirable to the master class.

Let us forget for the moment that we have passed far beyond Caesar's day. Let us suppose it is still possible for a comparatively small race to physically and politically absorb the world. Germany captures and digests Europe, then America. We have in such case a central government wielding all state authority centered in Berlin. There would then be, in the course of time a labor movement—a revolutionary movement—organized *not on national lines* as in the past *but a real international*. The workers whether of France, Italy, Belgium or Germany would have but one enemy—the capitalist state, centered in Berlin. Nationalism would have disappeared. The issue would be clear. There would be no possibility of beclouding it by war of conquest or the springing of another world war. There would be but the one fight—that of the workers versus the shirkers as typified by the state.

Somebody objects that this would take a long time. Most certainly it would—but these our "leaders," the intellectual giants of the movement, the politicians and promoters are prepared only to prophesy vaguely a "Socialist Government"—whatever that may be—for the far distant future, provided we allow ourselves to be easily "led" to that goal. They are vaguely annoyed

when we of the pick and shovel brigade threaten to become "rude" and accomplish the revolution without them.

But to return—"the world has not erred in holding the Kaiser responsible for this war and more to this effect. The Kaiser a physical and mental shrimp possessing the mentality of a cave man, and the body of an inmate of a cripple's home, is credited with being the force that set such powers in motion! Verily our comrade and ex-scientific Socialist has been eating Carlyle or mayhap some of the popular school histories treating of the manner in which His Majesty, this, or his Royal Highness, that, *made* history. I had understood since devoting spare moments for some eleven years to the study of Socialism that its "hero" explanation of great historical events had been exploded and that the misconception was merely perpetuated nowadays that the slaves might stand in awe of the "self made" men, who pose before us as "great" because they have succeeded in enslaving us.

However, we live to learn! Comrade La Monte has imbibed along with Carlyle, a large sized dose of capitalist ethics. His tears over the violation of Belgian neutrality compare very favorably with the utterances of sundry English and Canadian "statesmen" on the same subject. As for the attitude of European Socialists let us see.

It is a matter of history that in 1870 Bebel and Liebknecht, representatives of Socialism in the German parliament, stood alone and unalterably opposed to war. No compromise or capitalist "patriotism" for them. Today 111 deputies with a few notable exceptions favored war. And even those few who opposed voted for the war credits because forsooth! the party constitution did not allow of a split vote in the house. And that when the party was performing an act which automatically made their party bourgeois and belied Socialism. The German Socialist movement insofar as its leaders are concerned at any rate, have played traitor to the workers. The party was in the hands of bourgeois radicals and reformers and had ceased to function as a Socialist party some time ago. All principally because the class struggle had been dropped and forgotten for the sake of "practical and constructive Socialism," and the votes it would muster to the so-called Social Democracy.

But what about the French Socialists and



the ultra anti-militarists of the Confederation of Labor. Jaures, we know, and a few others opposed war, but Guesde, who of all others should understand the function of the French state, Herve, who has again and again been imprisoned by that state, and many others, have gone over to the enemy. And the "Unified" Socialists send out a manifesto—not opposing war—but justifying its stand in allowing Guesde and Sembat to enter a capitalist war cabinet. The movement is no longer propagating *Socialism*—its votes we want and we'll do anything to get them:

As for Belgium, it is a matter of fact, a fact attested by Vandervelde many times, that capitalism has attained more nearly to perfection in that country than perhaps any other. In other words, the bondage of the Belgian slaves is, if possible, even more acute than that of the rest of us. Yet we find him taking a strictly bourgeois stand over the present war. Even as this is written, he is in Montreal, bearing a letter written by the Belgian queen attesting his good reputation, high moral character and general excellence. So far as known he has not visited Socialist headquarters in Montreal, but is "wining and dining" with the elite at various society functions and suffrage associations.

Had Belgium allowed Germany a right of way, the fighting would have taken place in northern France, and Belgium have been comparatively intact. But the Belgian ruling class, like all others, had an axe to grind, and jumped to the side of the tence they had reason to believe would probably win. Vandervelde and his colleagues have played right into the hands of this class and now are members of the government, responsible for the plight of Belgium.

We are told the Belgian and French Socialists are to be commended in fighting for "their" country. Why? Do the Belgian slaves own Belgium, or do their brother slaves in France own that country? In both countries as here they have the loan of a job while their employment is profitable. At other times they may be thrown in the "cooler" as vags, or stood up for cannon food.

An invasion by the German master class while awkward for certain interests, could not make an ioto of difference in the ultimate condition of either the Belgian or

French workers. The conclusion is obvious—they were just as inconsistent and just as easily bluffed and fooled as the German slaves and the actions of their leaders just as reprehensible from the viewpoint of a Socialist. Why—why this state of affairs in the movement? As in Germany, so in France and Belgium—the *capture of the movement by the respectable, radical, reform element*. The class struggle forgotten—the whole energy of the movement directed towards the building of a gigantic political machine that a "Socialist government" may be ushered in and capitalism of a more centralized type take the place of the present "every fellow for himself and devil take the hindmost" system.

As for the workers they have been kept in ignorance of the essentials—"theirs not to reason why," but to follow those to whom God in his infinite wisdom has bequeathed the giant intellects necessary to leadership. The movement is a large property holder in Europe—hence at least a part of its respectability and "constructive" program. The class struggle—the war between the "haves" and the "have nots" is not respectable, hence it must be kept in the background. It might even scare away votes and we need them all!

Let us reason—history will one day verify that which many of us today believe, but find it hard to prove absolutely. For the past several years European diplomacy has had but one goal before it—the isolation of the German empire. And why? Because Germany had, even without any very valuable colonies, threatened to beat the capitalist world at its own game. Germany, prior to the present war had captured the world market for a number of very necessary commodities. Her cheap products allowed of no competition. There is the true inwardness of this and all similar affairs. For years the English and colonial press has thundered that "Germany will get you if you don't watch out." More—we find that before the public got an inkling of the coming trouble England's navy was mobilized and ready for action. Why again? Because this hell's broth has been brewing for ages, it is the true spawn of capitalism—of human slavery. Had the Kaiser been still-born it would have been precipitated and similar affairs will be staged so long as the workers consent to produce surplus value for the masters.



As a comrade said the other day "a quarrel is on, a private quarrel, and it would be bad form for us to butt in." We slaves, so long as we have sense enough to keep out of it, have everything to gain and nothing to lose. Let the masters quarrel. When their henchmen and fighting slaves are worn out we will be fresh and in good form to strike a blow for our freedom from capital!

To return. In England as on the continent most of the labor and Socialist leaders are out as sort of glorified assistant recruiting sergeants. There are a few exceptions. Courageous old John Burns, who has been loaded with contumely by the emasculated parliamentary Labor Party for the past ten or more years, threw up his \$25,000 per year job because he could not endorse the war. And that stalwart of labor, J. Ramsay McDonald, who for a few days opposed the war, experienced a remarkable change of heart and started to recruit cannon food. Of course, we do not know whether the vacancy caused by the resignation of Burns had anything to do with his patriotic outburst or not, but we may all harbor an opinion. Hyndman, ultra scientific exponent of Marx and Blatchford, his very antithesis, now occupy the same virtuous couch and in chorus implore that Germany receive a good whipping. Scores of others might be mentioned.

Again why this state of affairs? And again the reply—lack of clarity. In such a confused state is the English movement—and it might be noted that confusion has marked it since its birth—that the average Englishman, who comes over, even though claiming to be a Socialist, knows no more of Socialism than a new born babe. There are Socialist and labor parties and societies and associations galore. And a labor delegation of approximately 50 in the House of Commons that steadily becomes more a nonentity every day. Votes are what we are after. There are £200 per year in it for us if elected! We are in favor of any old thing that will ensure a victory at the polls! The class struggle is too old fashioned and besides it will drive away votes! There is the situation and a disgusting mess it is the world over. For not alone is this true of the particular countries mentioned; it holds good in many and divers places, and the state of affairs bears a moral for us.

Scores of those whom we have in the past deferred to as men who knew more of

Socialism than we, are now, through ignorance; we fear and a desire to be popular for a day, discredited as exponents of Socialism. Many have done good work in the past. Their work will live. But the movement is too big and of too vast moment to allow those who have trimmed or gone back to the "flesh pots of Egypt" to become a drag upon it. As for those who came in for a meal ticket and have deserted now that the chances are better elsewhere, they are beneath contempt.

When war threatened, in order to have been consistent, the European Socialists should have opposed it even to the point of organized armed revolt. Had all Socialist representatives in European parliaments taken the courageous stand of our Russian comrades in the shadow of the knout, the gallows or the Siberian convict mines, the result would have been far different.

They did not. Their leaders at any rate insofar as we can tell what occurred, betrayed the movement. This has happened many times. Indeed it is not by any means the slaves only, who in the past have played the coward. Again and yet again have the leaders pottered about and by cowardly hesitation become stuck fast in the quagmire of capitalist politics and diplomacy. In July and August, 1914, they put the same trick over. But—never again!

For mark ye, leaders of labor, we are getting wise. We *want* the Revolution you have *talked* so learnedly about. Like the Irish peasant of the story we "are longing for the day av judgment." We know that the state is the ruthless slave driver, the power used by our masters to keep us in subjection. It does not materially affect us whether the figurehead of that state be president, king, emperor, kaiser or czar; whether he be English, American, German, Hottentot or Sioux Indian. It remains in any event the instrument through and by means of which our bondage is legalized and perpetuated. We must capture that power and put an end to slavery.

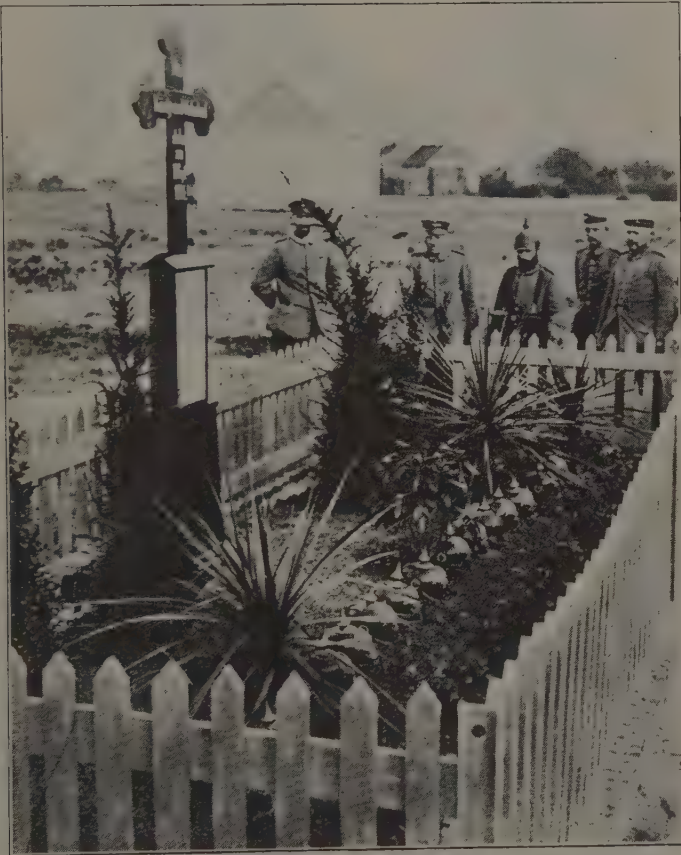
The workers international will again be organized. It will be reborn of the blood and tears and miseries of an hitherto duped working class. We of the pick and shovel brigade, who are primarily the builders of this huge fabric of society—we who own no country, but have built up all countries—we will organize the new international. It is to us that Socialism, the end of humar-

slavery, makes its most potent appeal. We are learning that it will never be handed us on a silver salver by the masters, nor yet by our leaders so despite the "hurt" looks and feelings of the aforementioned leaders we are going after it ourselves this time.

We, the workers, produce all the good things of life—yet we want. We need all these good things. They are here in abundance. When enough of us understand the issue we will be powerful enough to take

them and wise enough to enjoy. Long live Socialism—not of the variety that compromises and seeks justification for capitalist wars, but the Socialism of the class war. As Gribble says in *Rhymes of Revolt*:

"We know no country, but the mass of those who toil,  
Our only enemy—the class of those who spoil.  
We own no bonds of kindred, race—no boundaries, but those of space."

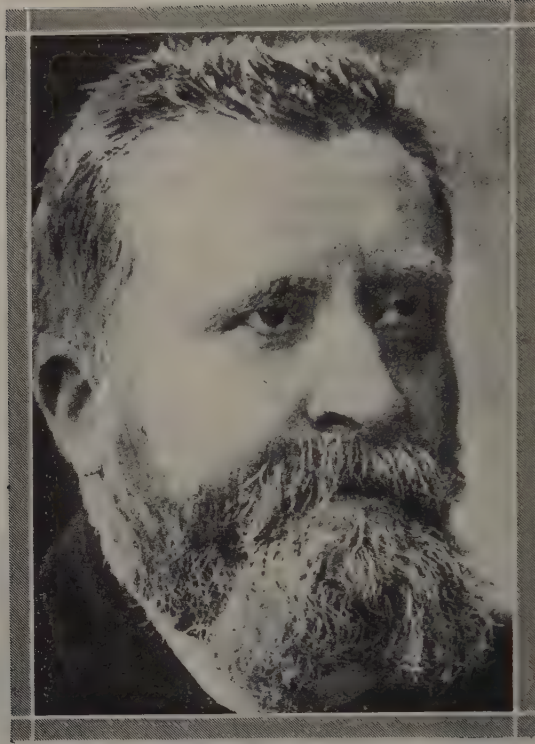


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"FOR KING AND FATHERLAND."

A GRAVE PLOT OF MEMBERS OF THE GERMAN LAND-  
STROM ON FRENCH SOIL.





JEAN JAURES.

## ARE WE READY?

By W. H. LEFFINGWELL

WHEN I joined the throng on Boulevard Poissonière the evening of July 29, 1914, I felt proud that I was a socialist and could count these thousands of Parisian workers as my brothers.

"See," I said to a friend, "these men are all-powerful. They do not wish war. There will be no war."

Those many thousands of workers really seemed to *mean* what they said when they shouted "*à bas la guerre.*" (Down with war!) The *garde republicaine*, armed with rifles and bayonets, charged the mob many times with bayonets fixed, but it made little difference. I felt for the first time in my life the sensation of being charged upon by soldiers. We all ran before them but we came back many times.

The next day Jaurès was assassinated! So much did the French government agree with me that the socialists were a mighty power and might demand reprisals in their fury, that within twelve hours of the event they had placarded Paris with a proclamation that the government mourned with the socialists the loss of the great leader and would see that the assassin was dealt with summarily.

\* \* \* \* \*

The next day *La Guerre Sociale*, Hervé's paper, came out with a great leading article entitled: "They have assassinated Jaurès, we will not assassinate France," in which he advised all socialists and revolutionists to rally to the defense of the nation.

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Was ever so much history crammed into

three short days? May I never live through so much in the rest of my life—yet I fear that more and worse events are to confront us very soon.

Of the misery, the terror and the devastation of war I saw during the next few weeks more than I could describe in a book, yet I was never nearer than twenty miles to a battlefield. I saw hundreds, yes, thousands, of home ties sundered. I saw weeping men and weeping women by the thousands. I saw industry completely crushed and thousands of men and women idly walking the streets. I saw hundreds of Belgian refugees entering Paris with all their worldly possessions in their handkerchiefs. I heard their sorrowful tales. Soldiers; cannon, mitrailleuses, ammunition wagons, supplies, horses, etc., passed my home in a steady procession six hours a day for two weeks, yet this could only have been a small portion of the actual army.

In traveling from Paris to Dieppe I passed through the rear of the French army and the sight of the soldiers digging trenches, the wounded lying upon straw beside the tracks, a train load of soldiers packed tightly in box cars, a company of artillery climbing a hill and other warlike preparations will never fade from my memory. Neither will the fact that in that whole trip did I see not one single factory chimney smoking.

I left France for England and in my short stay there learned that although the war would not have *quite* such a terrible effect upon that country, yet had not parliament stepped in and established a sort of state capitalism it certainly would have ruined England. As it is, frightful misery is bound to come there a little later when the maimed and mangled heroes return and are thrust upon the labor market.

I returned to America and found the people of the United States looking upon the whole war as a sort of a football match and idly speculating as to the winner. Even the socialists seem content to scold their European comrades for their unsocialistic actions. Not one in a dozen of those I have met seem to realize that this war has a meaning to socialists of America other

than mere propaganda, that perhaps we here in this country may be called upon to play some part other than calling attention to the horrors of war.

Suppose the leaders of the German socialist movement have made mistakes—and I believe they have. Suppose even that the whole five million voters there are weak-kneed cowards, does that alter the fact that there is upon us now a cataclysm such as the world has never witnessed? Can we afford to merely take the attitude of carping critics? Is it not our duty to play *our* part carefully, thoughtfully and bravely?

My pen is weak, it will not bring forth words of sufficient power, but, comrades of the revolution, I beseech you, you who believe in a better day, you who really are in earnest, who desire freedom as much as you desire life—prepare your house for the day is come. Be you socialists, social democrats, syndicalists or direct actionists, remember that first of all you are social revolutionists. Drop all petty differences as to means and methods and begin to think and plan seriously. No longer need we deal in hypotheses—perhaps the methods of all of us are wrong—certainly few of us have made startling successes.

Let us clear the decks for action.

To those of you who are afraid, I beg of you to go your way while there is yet time to retire gracefully, for in the times that are coming we will have little use and less respect for cowards.

Never before in all the history of revolutions has there been a tenth of the cause or justification that there is now. We of the United States will surely have to play our part. Are we ready?

We must be neither Germans, French nor English; we must be social revolutionists.

We will need great *statesmen*, not politicians. Have we got them ready?

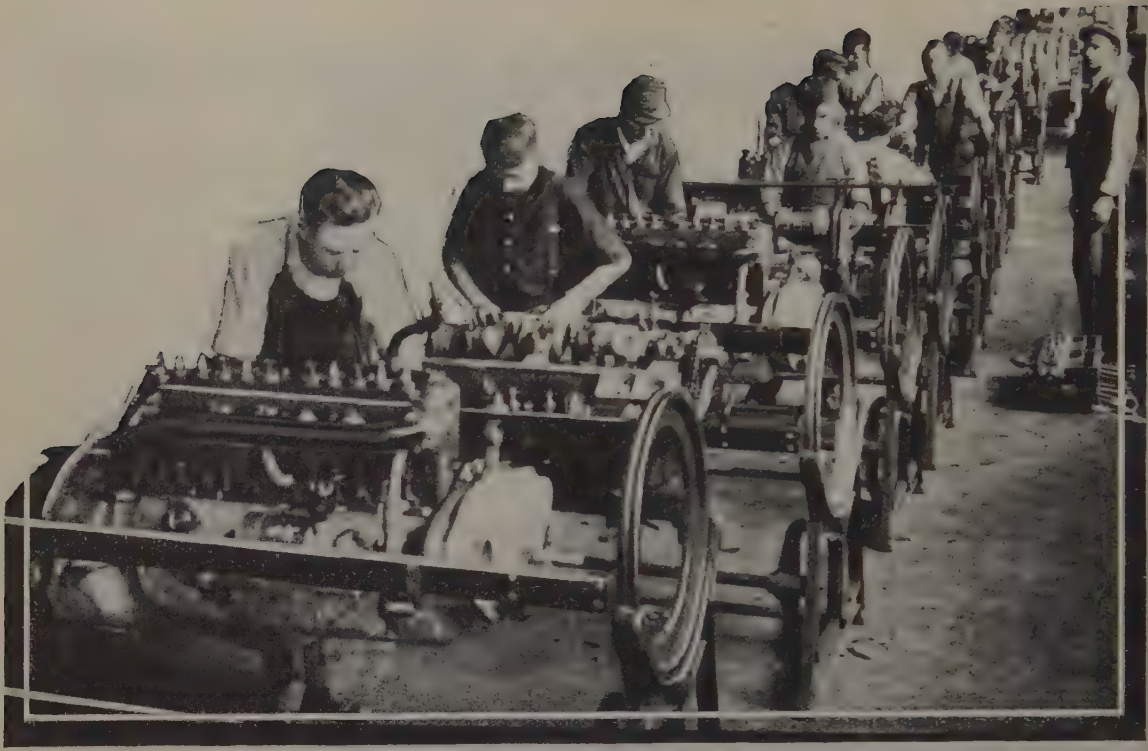
We will need great fighters, not quibbling quarrellers. Are they at hand?

We will need brave men and women ready to die for freedom.

We will need money—and sacrifice.

"Arise, ye workers, for the day is near."





Courtesy Haynes Automobile Co., Kokomo, Ind.

REVERSIBLE MOTOR BLOCKS TURN PARTS OF CHASSIS BOTTOM SIDE UP AND FACILITATE ASSEMBLING.

## AUTO CAR MAKING

By MARY E. MARCY

**I**N 1903 Henry Ford, after much experimenting and inventing and building for several years, incorporated his now famous automobile plant in Detroit, Mich. Other auto manufacturers with small plants sprung up every month for the next few years. Each concern had some special ideas and designs it tried to work out and individual manufacturers vied with each other to produce machines which should force their less successful competitors to the wall and establish their own reputations as makers of the best car.

In not one single department was there the slightest effort made toward standardization in the early days. In fact there was always simple machinery required for each part of the hundreds of different makes of auto vehicle. Repairs could only be rightly made in that particular plant

where the damaged part had originally been produced. The accessories of machines, the various parts to be assembled into the chassis, or "working part" of the car, were all different, and, since they could be made on only a small scale, highly expensive. Modern manufacturing machinery only pays when it is used for production on a large scale.

These scores of early small automobile factories had all their corps of highly trained and specialized experts, mechanics, inventors and engineers. The machinery for making automobiles was comparatively simple and all the skill in car-building was in the working force. Naturally wages were very high and the manufacturing cost of automobiles from two to four hundred per cent more than it is today.

But price and efficiency alone can stand

the test of use and time among the buying public. Twenty-two makers of inferior machines, or inadequate capital, who had started plants in Detroit in 1904 and 1905, were either absorbed or sent to the wall inside of a few years.

New companies arose to win success or failure in the auto manufacturers' struggle for existence, according to their weakness or their strength, their good fortune or their misfortune. And in the weeding out process of early competition, the wise manufacturers yielded to the demands of the public and the need for cheaper production and began to standardize.

And in this race Henry Ford, the inventor and manufacturer, was always ahead of all his competitors. He was the first to realize that standardization and specialization meant cheaper manufacturing cost and that cheaper manufacturing cost meant bigger business and more profits, which would enable him to install still more wonderful machinery, that would automatically and almost miraculously, perform the work of the highest paid experts. And in every step made by Ford in modernizing his machinery of production and eliminating skill in his working force, other automobile manufacturers followed as fast as their growing capital would permit.

Being first in this field Ford was able to secure the best possible men, young men, of quickness and efficiency, to run his machines at the remarkable and unheard price of \$5.00 a day, whereas some of the work had formerly been performed by skilled mechanics at from seven to twelve dollars a day, or by experts at a still higher figure. Today many of the Ford employees receive as low as \$2.34 a day *when they are at work*.

Mr. Ford also discovered that his men could produce more cars in less time and with greater efficiency in an eight-hour than in a nine-hour day. "The Automobile" announced recently that the Ford plant in Detroit ran three eight-hour shifts, so that the vast machines of production are never idle and every man works to the utmost limit of his speed—or is replaced by younger and more efficient men, who can keep up the incredible pace. But more of the Ford plant later.

The changes that have taken place in the auto vehicle industry during the past few years are summed up admirably in the

January 8th, 1914, number of "The Automobile." We have learned, it says:

To discard the car which cannot be built without the faithful and expert co-operation of fifty trained mechanical specialists, and which in the long run cannot be kept in good order without much assistance from the same class, to discard as useless and misleading the working-pride involved in the daily efforts of these fifty, and to learn to look upon that car as the ideal, instead, which once it has been built and tested laboriously by five super-workmen, of mental and manual skill superlative, can be reproduced in large number through almost *automatic mechanical machine operations*—this change in attitude could not be accomplished easily; for it did not mainly mean the old story of buying more machinery to take the place of handwork, but first of all a thorough and predetermined subordination of the design to the production possibilities, and, secondly, the overcoming of the enormous and stubborn resistance by which skilled workmen will meet a general lowering in the grade of work assignd to them.

One of our friends who has been for years a specialized worker in the automobile industry declares there has never been the rapid growth in the production of any commodity that we see in auto vehicle manufacturing. According to his report the modern industry is less than twenty years of age and a car that was made a decade ago would be a curiosity upon the streets if seen today.

It was as late as 1896 (November) that it became legal to run automobiles on the roads in the United Kingdom. Yet the pioneer vehicles belong in the museum of today.

Earliest inventions were generally of steam or electric power. Prior to these men had experimented on cars propelled by springs. The oldest relic of English manufacture existing today was made by Col. Crompton. He began work on his machine while still an engineering apprentice in 1861; and completed his car in 1869. It ran for several years.

The first successful car built in France was made by Panhard & Levassor, in 1891.

Herr Gottlieb Daimler and Herr Carl Benz are the undoubted pioneers of the modern automobile. They worked within a relatively few miles of each other, un-

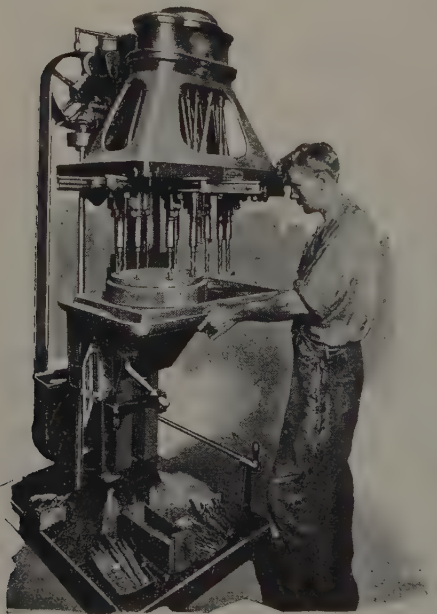


known to each other, in Germany. Their work was exemplified by a Canstatt-Daimler in 1894-5. This early vehicle bears no resemblance whatever to the modern Mercedes which emanates from the same factory and which attained a speed of 133 miles an hour at Ostend, Belgium.

Another pioneer English car was a kerosene propelled Knight which made its appearance in 1895. The first motor-driven vehicle patented in America was the Selden, the makers of which received royalties from other manufacturers of internal combustion vehicles for several years. The first American car completed for the market was made by Elwood Haynes in 1893. Today the United States produces more, and perhaps better, motor cars than all the rest of the world combined.

The Ford plant at Detroit alone manufactures more cars in one year than France, Canada, Germany, England and Belgium. *Specialization and Standardization*

It is largely owing to their standardization methods as well as to the excellence of their machines that has placed American manufacturers in the lead in auto making. One has only to compare the trade journals of today and of a few years ago to recognize the immense strides they have made.



Courtesy Hupp Motor Car Co., Detroit.

THIS MACHINE DRILLS 200 FLYWHEELS A DAY; EIGHTEEN ARE DRILLED AT ONE TIME WHERE ONLY ONE WAS DRILLED.

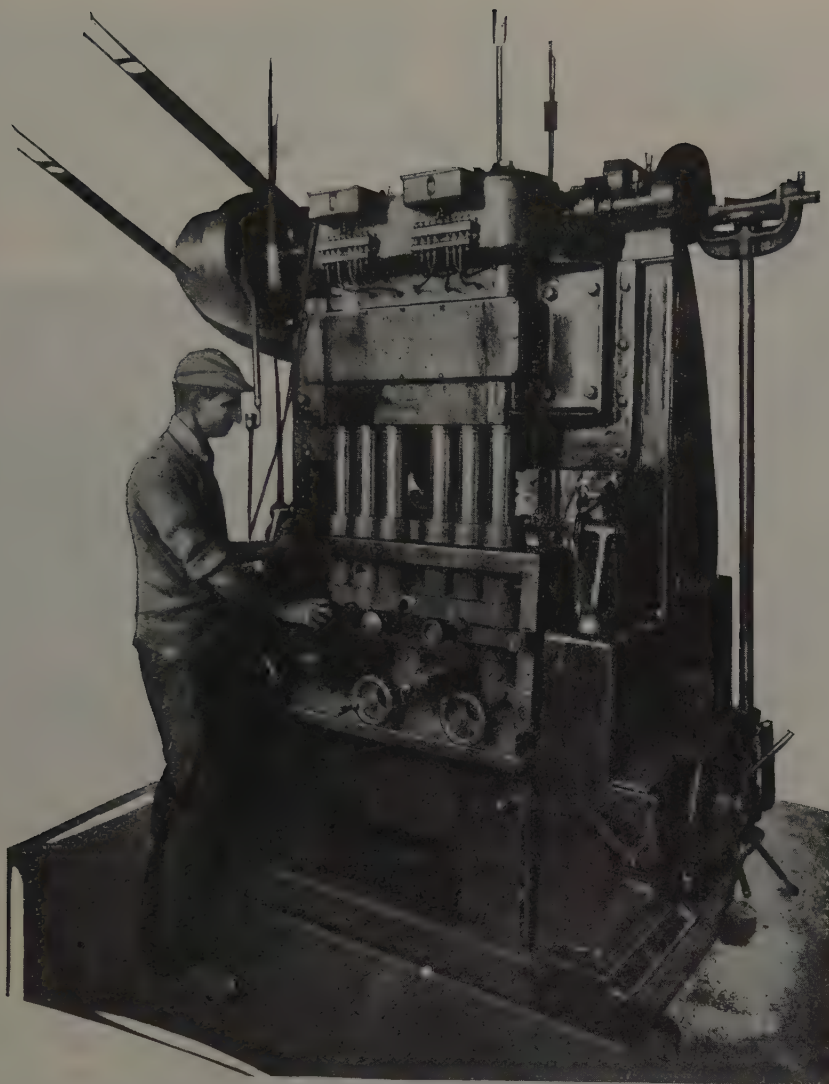
Hundreds of subsidiary manufacturing plants have been established most of which supply one single standardized part of the automobile to one or more manufacturers. There are manufacturers of automobile bodies, of tops, gearboxes, radiators and axles. One plant turns out over 20,000 bodies in one year; another produces 14,000 porcelains a week. Holley Bros. put out 1,000 carburetors every day. The Disco Company alone will turn out 30,000 electric starting devices this year. Another company produces over 2,000,000 of a special kind of bearings annually.

In a eulogistic article in one of the trade journals, an expert says in writing of the plant of the Champion Company, "While the writer was at the plant today, between the hours of 9 a. m. and 5 p. m. exactly 23,072 spark plugs were manufactured and packed for shipment to all parts of the world. Before the end of the day 2,000 to 3,000 more had joined the day's output."

"Specialization has come along with better machinery, modern factory buildings and scientific factory management. It has revolutionized the manufacturing world. It has brought order out of chaos and left behind that manufacturer who DIVIDES HIS EFFORTS AMONG SEVERAL LINES OF GOODS. Take any of the great industrial successes of today and a brief analysis will show them to depend upon SPECIALIZATION for their enormous earnings and size. In the automobile industry there are many examples of specialization, both in cars and in parts. Ford cars are made in only one type. Each parts maker is a specialist; axles, steering gears, wheels, springs, bodies, issue in large quantities from plants of enormous size which MAKE NO OTHER PART."

The machinery used in automobile manufacture has developed marvelously. Perhaps nine-tenths of the work formerly performed by many men in many operations is now done by one great machine in a single operation.

Auto manufacturing work calls for many drilling operations. This is especially true of the frame members, which have to take the connections binding the frame together, besides all the members of the car itself which are carried and supported by the frame. The multiple spindle drill is the largest machine drill in the world. This machine is capable of drilling seventy-two



Courtesy Haynes Automobile Co.

BORING SIX CYLINDERS WITH ONE OPERATION.

holes at a single operation and is used exclusively for drilling holes in the side bars of the frame. Two men working on this machine will drill all the holes in a frame side bar in 30 seconds. This is just thirty-six times as fast as would be accomplished by former methods—a gain of 3,600 per cent of time.

The new multiple broach machine cuts eight keyways in one minute. The Foot-Burt cylinder boring mill bores all four or six cylinders of the block casting at once. The new battery of gear hobbing machines

cut gears for twenty machines a day. The machine cutting the gears for the Haynes motor performs three of the former operations at one time.

The 2,500,000 entire hides used in upholstering the automobile are measured and cut by machinery which performs the work in half the time required by hand labor. The National Motor Vehicle Company at Indianapolis have an automatic machine for making pistons. This machine simultaneously turns the rings and piston skirt and machines the head and base. It turns out





Courtesy Ford Automobile Co., Detroit.

FORD PROGRESSIVE ASSEMBLY SYSTEM. THE CHASSIS STARTS ITS ASSEMBLY AT ONE END OF THE TRACK AND COMES OFF A COMPLETE CAR MINUS A BODY IN 53 SECONDS.

eighty-five pistons a day. A special machine for pressing ball bearings on a Lozier crankshaft has been devised that is a great time and labor saver.

#### *53 Seconds to put the Chassis of an auto TOGETHER*

The chassis is called the WORKING parts of an automobile, without its body. The Ford progressive chassis assembly system is one of the most interesting in the motor car world.

"It may best be described as a railroad track system, because in the factory has been built what looks like a railroad track, 800 feet long, with the rails nearly two feet from the floor and not so far apart as in a railroad or trolley line.

"Eighty workmen line this railroad track from end to end, approximately forty on one side and as many on the other. The chassis starts its assembly (or putting to-

gether) at one end of this track and is driven off by the tester at the other end. It takes a chassis less than thirty minutes to make the trip from end to end—starting in as NOTHING (but the parts of a car) and coming off A COMPLETE CAR, MINUS THE BODY.

"Between the rails of this assembly (or putting-together) track is an endless moving chain, traveling much slower than a slow walk. This chain has large catches or hooks on it that catch on the differential housing and keep the chassis constantly moving until it is assembled, not a single stop, to put in the motor, to attach the dash, the gasoline tank or any other parts.

"It is a pace-setting scheme; the workman must do his job in so many seconds or he loses out. The moving chain will not wait for him, for other workmen have their work to do.

"A half hour study of this railroad assembly showed that a completed car (minus the body) was coming off the tracks every 53 seconds, just as regularly as the second hand of the watch made its circuit of the dial. It was not once in 53 seconds, not twice in 53 seconds, but every time in 53 seconds; sometimes a few seconds less.

"There are three of these progressive assembly systems side by side in the main factory, but these three do not represent the assembly capacity of the great Ford organization as the company has fifteen assembly factories in different parts of the country and a dozen more in process of construction."—(The Automobile, May 14, 1914.)

Last week we received a letter from two of our friends who had been earning \$7.50 and \$8.50 a day painting the bodies of automobiles. One of them said:

"We are out for good, I guess, as these people have installed an automatic painting plant. Before two months are over the other manufacturers will have them, so we may as well be looking for jobs elsewhere.

"A score of cars are run into as many stalls under the new system; given a shower bath of paint and run out into a drying room—all in almost less time than it takes to write about."

The race in motor car making has, perhaps, only well begun. Each week sees some new method employed for cutting down the cost and machinery installed that will eliminate the skilled worker. One of the technical journals announces that it has been discovered that one man can successfully operate two of the new machines at the same time: One is the four spindle Moline drill press, used in machining connecting rods, and the other, a two spindle machine whose locating points bring the rod into perfect alignment for the reaming operation, and centers the rods. One man takes entire charge of these two machines, both of which are performing several operations at the same time.

Without doubt the good old days for the skilled worker and the mechanical expert are over in the automobile industry. Standardization and specialization has eliminated them. Today the skill is in the new and



Courtesy Haynes Automobile Co.

BODIES BEING UPHOLSTERED IN HAYNES FACTORY. TWO AND ONE-HALF MILLION HIDES ARE USED ANNUALLY FOR BODIES ALONE.



modern machine which will perform, at less cost and at greater speed, the most difficult tasks almost automatically. And highly skilled men are not required to operate these machines.

Fixed capital, or the capital invested in improved methods of production, in modern machinery, has greatly increased and the wage scale, compared to the growth in output, has greatly diminished. The cost of auto vehicle manufacture has been wonderfully reduced in the more modern establishments and the profits to the manufacturers have risen to enormous size. Last year the sale of automobiles in Detroit amounted to more than the total wealth of that city.

The skilled trades will find it impossible to secure a hold in the motor car plants because the skilled trades are becoming unnecessary to the success of these plants. The unskilled worker has at last come into his own so far as getting the jobs is concerned. And it is the unskilled workers who must be reached and organized into One Big Industrial Union. It is up to every rebel in the automobile industry to distribute the propaganda literature of Socialism and Industrial Unionism. The right sentiment is there and it needs only to be crystalized. Let some of the books of Kerr and Company do your work!



Courtesy Hupp Motor Car Co.

DROP FORGINGS ARE NOW EXTENSIVELY USED.



# "NO CHARITY HERE!"

By BRUCE ROGERS

RETURNING over the hump from North Yakima my seat companion was a weather-tanned but neatly dressed man of twenty-eight or thirty. Hard muscles moved handsomely under the skin of his face and neck and his clear eyes told of sobriety and exceeding good health. When he joined me at Ellensburg I took him for a traveling salesman with a fad for the open air and physical culture. With casual smoking car democracy he proffered his tobacco and wheat straw papers. I was on the point of asking him what line he sold when, removing his gloves, which, I observed, would not fasten about his huge wrists, I saw the knotted callous-lined palms and split nails that come only from hard manual labor. He told me his story.

"Work was slow in Tacoma, so I beat it over to the harvest to lay by something for the wife and kiddies for the hard winter ahead. I fell off at Ellensburg, took down the track and struck the first rancher I met for a job. I didn't like the wages but he said there were lots of other guys coming who couldn't make it at their trades, so I peeled off and went to it. Now I had always thought that farmers were a decent friendly class about their houses and would treat you like one of the family. We worked till dark at a pretty stiff clip.

He quit the chores enough ahead of me so that he had eaten with his family and when I came in I sat down to some cold grub and warmed over coffee and not so much as an excuse made about it. I waited around to be told where to sleep and finally I asks him.

"Sleep, hell," he says; *"there's three hundred acres here. You ought to be able to find room enough to sleep in."*

Believe me, I was that sore I coulda quit right then, but I didn't know how far it was to the next place nor how I would fare if I found it, so I crawled in the hay as far as I could get from over the horses. It was just like that all down the valley. I

got used to it, in a way, and I got a few dollars to show for it. The wife worked some in Tacoma, but I guess it's worse there now than when I left, so I don't know yet whether we will get by or not."

And then reflectively, "I got connections and I'm no bo, but, believe me, if I was, I would burn every barn and wheat stack in the Yakima Valley before I would let them make a dog outa me."

I couldn't see how that would get him anywhere, though I agreed that it might challenge attention, but he failed to hear. Pursuing his own feelings, he added:

"There's one thing about it. When I get in to Tacoma, believe me, I'll not shoot off my lip about the I. W. W. like I did last winter and I'm a good mind to put in with them."

So there you are. The quality of abuse and contumely to be heaped upon a worker is measured only by the quantity which he will endure before making himself dangerous. That there is an increasing number who are willing to be walked upon, spat upon and fed with the dogs is sufficiently evident to remove all economic or practical reasons for active concern on the part of employers over the worker's undelightful pastime of starving to death. He morbidly enjoys the situation at the point where he encounters it, that of reading the reports of the Associated Charities, whose gilded certificate of membership hangs in his outer office, and he merely adds this pleasure-of-reading to his favorite indoor sports. There is a note of danger, however, in a new temper of a few of the unemployed—too wretchedly few. "If you don't give us work at standard pay we'll take food wherever we find it."

There is no celerity like that of the capitalist brain to turn any situation to advantage, as we shall presently see. At least a month earlier than usual the Seattle Chief of Police reported that the number applying nightly for the cement hospitality of the city jail had reached all he could accom-



modate. Petty thieving was on the increase, burglaries had begun on a winter scale ahead of time, citizens were being held up, the city jail and both the city and county stockades were full, and still they came on every boat and train, and now in mid-winter they are still coming. "Why don't they stay in the country?" is an innocent question; but in truth it is harder to winter there. There are no ten-cent lodgings and no cheap restaurants in country towns, and these men will not be wanted on the farm until the harvest. The logging camps will not open until spring. A new name for the charities gag is 'The Central Council of Social Agencies.' Securing a large building, they established a barracks where indigent but "worthy" single men might sleep on the floor and eat potatoes wetted down with coffee-tinctured water. This building took the natural name of "Hotel de Gink," which was an offense to the ears who officially styled it "Hotel Liberty" and put a salaried host in charge of it.

Enter now the bright idea with one Henry Pauly, disciple of Jeff Davis, and a typical padrone. He suggested the coinage of wretchedness into profits. Why not "clear" (meaning to put in a state of cultivation), the logged-off lands at a rate so low as to be attractive to the landholders? The men would work for just a little more than their board and sleep in floorless tents. At least the *deserving* ones would, he reasoned.

He was put in charge of Hotel Liberty with full power to select the worthy and drive the unworthy away. What a name for such a place! Now it must be known that with us logged-off lands are in reality waste areas, no matter how rich the soil may be admitted to be. The price at which the lands are held, added to the usual cost of clearing, makes a principal sum which, if invested at ordinary interest rates, would yield an income more than sufficient to buy the products of the reclaimed lands perpetually. Notwithstanding the land boosters, there is no way to think of them except as desert, marsh or waste lands, but subject to reclamation.

You will fall short in your appreciation of Mr. Pauly's genius if you do not understand that the unemployed problem so-called is a permanent one with periods of recurring intensity. If he could solve it by getting labor to reclaim the lands for

nothing it would tend toward a permanent condition of labor—working for nothing. Could anything be more ideal from the viewpoint of the employers? They have been quick to see it, and Mr. G. N. Skinner, a most appropriately-named labor-fiater and President of the Employers' Association, became an enthusiastic patron of the plan. The papers lauded the scheme and began extolling the virtues of the deserving workingman who will work for poor wages when he can't get good, and who will work for nothing rather than be idle. The plan, of course, is well financed, but somehow it isn't working out and the papers are having more to say about the "won't works." At least, one Local of the Socialist Party cared sufficiently little for the approval of the middle class that they openly denounced the peonage plan, and, marvel of wonders, the Central Labor Council awoke from its somnolent security long enough to pass a tactful resolution denouncing any exploitation of the unemployed at lower rate of pay than current wages, but naming no amount.

The Executive Secretary of the Charities Organization, Miss Virginia McMechen, is a somewhat disillusioned type of uplifter and an Expert in Social Service. She marvelled that her committee of employers' and business men could not reckon upon any phase of unemployment save that of the itinerant worker and could not get attention to the condition of resident unemployed heads of families. The writer was able to show her that the "home-guard" was less inclined to make a public problem of himself, constituted no threat against property, and would hold on as long as possible to a respectable status and the good opinion of his neighbors, but that she would not need to wait long, for even he would lose his moorings.

Presently a committee of family men presented themselves before the City Council requesting work at anything and received most bountiful sympathy sweetened with assurances that nothing could be done for them. One of their number made a little speech in which he said he had been a voter in Seattle for ten years, had never been up in court, that his family was near want and that he proposed to feed them, laws or no laws. Forthwith the papers discovered that there is much local distress and began a Christmas campaign for relief. Many schemes have been set under way such as

cleaning up vacant lots, assembling wayward garbage, etc.

By far the most talked-of manifestation of the unemployed crisis in Seattle, and as reported in other Pacific Coast cities, is the habit some workers are developing of no longer begging the restaurants but of entering and seating themselves in dignified fashion, eating dollar meals and then telling the proprietor to "charge it to the Mayor," to Sweet Charity, or "tab it on the ice."

Haled into court they sing a more or less epicurean tune of "pie in the sky by and by," and one with a lilt of ribaldry and good cheer, "Halleluia, I'm a Bum, Halleluia, Bum Again," etc., on their glad way to the steam heat of the stockade. Twenty-nine such offenders were sent up in one day and continue in large numbers in the daily grist, of "offenses against property."

#### UNEMPLOYED DETACHED WOMEN

Our civilization is not a nice one and I yield to no desire to discuss it in a nice way. Unemployed working women and girls find their situation aggravated in that prostitution, ceasing to be profitable, women of that ancient profession turn to seek work. A stage-hand friend of mine who is somewhat of a rounder recently told me there were no less than five hundred girl hoboos in the neighborhood of Pike street alone who might be had for a "feed" or a bed. "You don't take them for 'boos because they must keep dolled up to the last." Working women make room for them as best they can. No one else will. A number of them are reported to be sleeping under sidewalks. A hundred or more unemployed women workers in November challenged the Christian bluff in great form by marching upon the palatial club rooms of the Young Women's Christian Association, holding a meeting outside and demanding shelter. They were referred to the

Charities Society, but something had to be done for the sake of the newspapers, and so a few cots were arranged in the building which kindly act was afforded due publicity. Another challenge of Christianity was made in a far different quarter when a score or more of unemployed men entered a Salvation Army storeroom, fitted themselves with castoff coats and walked away without paying.

#### PACIFIC COAST UNEMPLOYED LEAGUE

Growing weary of the gorgeous bunk and red tape of the charities societies, the unemployed themselves have formed The Pacific Coast Unemployed League, of which Seattle is Local Number One. They have no salaried officials or bureaus, choose their managers from among their own numbers, and have taken a firm stand against the Pauly peonage land-reclamation plan. They called the unemployed together in the largest meetings that have been held, chose a committee and began the publication of a paper styled the *Unemployed News* from sales of which many of their numbers support themselves. They have made a most effective answer to the cheap lie that they "won't work" by securing a large delivery wagon, making harness for themselves and hauling it about town in teams of thirty or forty as if they were work horses.

They are succeeding too well with this and at this writing, early in December, it is doubted if the authorities will permit the use of the wagon much longer. They have opened a commissary for the distribution of clothing and food and have opened a kitchen in true communal fashion. They make no classification of the phases of the "problem," but their movement is for the whole body of the unemployed. On the walls of their old store building hang many stinging "No Charity" legends. "We can do nothing for you. Join us and we'll do something all together."







HOME OF HERMAN D. SUHR, WHO WAS RAILROADED TO THE CALIFORNIA STATE PENITENTIARY FOR LIFE. HIS CRIME CONSISTED IN HELPING THE STRIKING HOP PICKERS.

## A MOTHER'S APPEAL

By MATILDA SUHR

WRITING as I am from the home provided by my husband Herman D. Suhr, I wonder what sort of law sent him to the penitentiary for life. Herman gave me and his two children this home out of his earnings as a laborer. I look around and am reminded of his gentleness and care. I know that Herman would not harm anything living. He left me and the children in the last week of July, 1913, to provide means to pay for this home. He went to Wheatland and was one of three thousand who found condition such that human nature could not bear. There was a strike. Every official who examined into the facts says that words could not describe the filth and misery on the Durst ranch in August, 1913. While the strike was at its height there was a charge into the strikers' meeting by drunken, armed

deputies. Two of them shot. My husband was wounded in the arm by a load of buck-shot. At no time during the strike did anybody state that my husband had used violence or even had taken a prominent part in the meetings. None of all the state witnesses recognized him. He did, however, sign a telegram to the San Francisco Bulletin to send a photographer and a reporter to write up the strike. Was this that he might be pictured killing somebody? He signed some other telegrams asking that men and money be sent to the help of the strikers and on this he is convicted of murder.

Yes, there is something else. My husband was arrested. He was kept sleepless for two weeks. He was beaten, tortured, threatened. Herman went insane as he tells me. He was at the limit of human endur-

ance. He signed a paper, and when he had one hour's blessed sleep he denied its contents.

Then they took my husband in this shape to Sutter County jail, in Yuba City. Seven men kept him in charge. Two by two, acting under a chief, these seven men sat on his bed at night, ate with him, talked to this broken man, hammered into his head for more than two months that he had taken a gun and shot somebody. This was all brought out at the Marysville trial. Two men whom Herman had never seen before and who talked with him, according to their own story about five minutes, testified that Herman said, voluntarily, mind you, to men he had never before seen, that he "grabbed a gun from an old man and blazed away," during the riot on the Durst ranch. Remember, my husband had a load of buck-shot in his arm. Then they brought into court a deputy sheriff who testified that Herman had confessed to him that he took part in murder. This confession was made in less than half a minute, while Herman and the deputy were "hurrying" a distance of one hundred steps. The confession covers pages of typewriting and Herman is said to have blurted all this out in the course of a run of one hundred steps. Yet on testimony such as this, learned judges, of the lower and upper courts, say my husband is guilty of murder. I have told the story fairly and correctly. Will the working class allow my husband to remain in prison for life?

In her appeal, Mrs. Ford says that you may write to the governor of the state if

you wish, but above all remember her husband—*on the job*. I beg the mothers of the state and nation to do anything to get my husband free.

Look at the little home, which I and his two children are working to keep. I go out washing to keep the children in school. When they come home they work through their play time, that we may keep this house Herman slaved so hard to buy.

Think of it, mothers! To brand such a man as a murderer and on such testimony, after my husband was driven insane by torture.

At fifteen years of age, back in Nebraska my husband took the place of his dead father. He kept the farm until his brothers grew old enough to run it. I knew Herman from childhood. We got married. My health failed and then we came out to California, where my husband proved that he worked two years in one place, a year in another and spent all his life for his family and his kind. This home is his best proof that he is not a murderer. This man, who worked from fifteen until thirty-eight years of age at useful toil is placed in the penitentiary for life. What of the law so blind as to do this?

Help us, mothers, sisters, daughters of the land to get Herman back to his once happy home. He and Dick Ford have been singled out for punishment because through their cases the conditions on the California ranches for laborers were exposed. That is their only crime. Help bring him back to usefulness.





# The Defense of the German Socialists

By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

A FEW days after the outbreak of the war an event occurred, that to most thoughtful people still remains to be explained. The leading section of the greatest international organization in the world, the leading anti-military force in Germany and the most powerful anti-military movement in the world endorsed the cause of militarism. The German Social Democracy voted in the Reichstag in favor of a war loan of five billion marks, thus giving their valuable support to the Kaiser's credit, and their moral approval to the war. It was impossible for them to have done more.

At first it was stated that their action was unanimous. It now seems that this is not a fact. The vote of the Party is always cast as a unit, and so the one hundred and ten Socialist votes were given for the war credits, but there was violent opposition in the caucus, and a vote that indicates that at least several hundred thousand Party members, representing perhaps a million Socialist voters, were against the action taken. Nevertheless, it seems probable that a majority of the members of the German Socialist Party and an overwhelming majority of the Socialist voters abandoned their life-long warfare against militarism the moment the war began.

Since the Socialists voted the war credits on August 4th, Socialists, democrats, and pacifists the world over have been busy trying to understand and explain their action. At first we were without any definite statements from the Socialists themselves. Had they been kept in ignorance of the true course of German diplomacy? Were they unaware of the attack on Luxemburg and Belgium? The "leaders" of the Party had been invited to a consultation with von Bethman-Hollweg on August 3rd. Possibly they were persuaded by him that the sword had indeed been "forced into the Kaiser's hands" and that Russia was the aggressor. But this supposition must be dismissed, for *Vorwaerts* on that very day took the view that Austria was the aggressor and gave its reasons. And

von Bethman-Hollweg himself announced the attack on Luxemburg and Belgium more than an hour before Haase delivered the Socialist statement in the Reichstag—an hour's recess intervening in which the Socialist majority could have changed its mind if it had been ignorant of these facts.

Was it coercion? No, for Socialists who voted with the Kaiser have since journeyed to Italy, Switzerland, Holland, sent by the Party, in vain effort to justify their action before the Socialists of those countries.

Nor was the action due to a sudden "hysterical fear of the Slavs." For years the Party press has attacked the "Russian peril" bogey and the attack was continued up to the very day of the declaration of war. It had declared that Austria was the aggressor, that Russian mobilization did not justify war, that the Russian nation, as a whole, is not reactionary nor a danger to German progress, since the revolutionary forces in that country are almost as strong as the government itself. All these positions were taken by *Vorwaerts*, the Party organ, both before the war and since. Some of the more radical papers have gone further. The Leipzig *Volkszeitung* and the Bremen *Bürgerzeitung* have both declared that in a war between Russia and Germany, it is Germany which would stand for the reactionary or anti-democratic side. They have pointed out that the most reactionary court party in Russia has favored and still favors Germany, and that the German Emperor has on every occasion done all in his power to aid the Czar and Russian autocracy against the Russian people. According to these papers, it is not merely that this is no war for the liberation of the oppressed Russian nationalities, as the Kaiser and some Socialists claim, but that it is a war directed against Russian democracy and German victory would reinforce Russian despotism.

But now for two months we have been receiving almost daily the official statements of the German Party and of the leaders of its majority faction, which is responsible for the voting of the war credits.

On August 21st, three weeks after the declaration of war, Scheidemann, formerly Vice-President of the Reichstag, who had visited this country last year, addressed a declaration to the Socialists of America which contains a careful and lengthy defense of the German Party's action—and an unconscious betrayal of the state of mind that lies behind it.

Scheidemann asks us to believe that "nobody wanted the war in Germany," and underlines the word "nobody." He then says:

"Though France, Republican France, has allied herself with the Russian absolutism for the purpose of murder and destruction, it is still difficult to conceive that England, parliamentary England, democratic England, is fighting side by side with Russia for 'freedom and culture.' That is truly a gigantic, shameless piece of hypocrisy." He goes on to claim that the sole motive of England is "envy of the economic development" of Germany; and he endorses without reservation the German Chancellor's defense of the invasion of Belgium, namely, that it was "necessary."

The best hope he can see for the world is that the Kaiser should completely conquer France at the earliest possible moment and so force peace; he expresses the belief that German victory is absolutely certain; and he even goes so far as to ask that the German Socialists be given full credit for the victorious carrying out of the war, recalling Bebel's statement to the government in the Reichstag in 1904: "Gentlemen, you cannot carry on any victorious war henceforth without our aid."

Scheidemann's unbounded patriotism even leads him to an inexcusable misstatement of the truth. He says that the whole German people are united for the war and that the Socialists in the Reichstag unanimously voted the war credits, and suppresses the fact that a strong minority stood against this action within the Socialist group in the Reichstag, and that it was bound by party rules to vote with the majority.

The position of Scheidemann and his faction would seem from this letter to be the same as that of the ordinary non-Socialist German "patriot." And it cannot be denied that the leaders of the Socialist majority have come to adopt practically the whole of the Kaiser's argument. But an examination of the development by which

they have reached this position will show beyond question that it is due not so much to envy of the peoples of other countries or hostility toward them, as to a preoccupation with the immediate welfare of the German working people so complete as to exclude all real interest in those of other countries or in international affairs, which, as we see, may involve all peoples in a common ruin.

Recently the Party has issued an official statement which contains a somewhat more plausible explanation of the support it is giving to the war. If the Russian Czarism is beaten, then the only menace to Germany that is recognized as such by the mass of the people, will be removed. The chief pretext for militarism will then be gone, and the Party can hope to make a more successful fight against it.

The *New York Evening Post* rightly laughs at this argument; as if the militarism of the German Junkers would be weakened by the most glorious victory that any military party ever gained. And it must be added that no people in the world are better aware than the German Socialists of the fact that a military party can be crushed only by defeat and never by victory. This is such a commonplace among German Socialists that it is safe to say that it has been both spoken and written about millions of times. And it is also safe to say that the chief hope of the overwhelming majority of Party members for years has been that the governing caste of Germany would become so mad as to hurl her into a war which would bring about defeat and revolution.

From several reliable sources, including a Reichstag member of the majority faction itself, another explanation has recently reached us. According to this the Socialist Party decided that their opportunity for the Socialist propaganda during the war as well as their chance for having something to say about peace and the reorganization of the government after the war would be so greatly improved by voting the loan, that this action would be justified. And it is notorious that the Socialists never had such opportunities in Germany as they enjoyed in the first two months of the war. But as soon as the radicals, who were in control of *Vorwaerts*, attempted to use this opportunity for Socialist purposes, they were immediately removed from their posi-



tion and replaced by conservatives, the government demanding that "the class war" should not even be referred to. Together with numerous other prosecutions of Socialist editors, this indicates that the opportunity for propaganda during the war will not amount to much. Undoubtedly the Socialists will be able to continue their effective struggle for humanitarianism, for justice to the enemy, and against the vicious attacks on the *peoples and cultures* of other countries in which not only the military caste but the intellectuals of Germany are now indulging themselves. Also they will be able to moderate the demands of the German militarists when the time for peace draws near. But it may be doubted if any pacifist outside of Germany, or any Socialist outside of the German majority, will consider this gain as sufficient justification for the voting of the war loan. Socialists, according to their own oft-declared principles, might at least have abstained from voting, as Bebel and Liebknecht did in 1870.

The truth is that none of these explanations explain. But nevertheless the action of the Socialist majority is no mystery. It was brought about neither by such afterthoughts as the "Russian peril," nor by the political advantages to be gained by having an alliance with the Kaiser during war time.

The explanations of Scheidemann, Suedekum, Fischer and other leaders show that they were governed by more far-reaching and significant motives—the hope that Germany and the German working people might gain by the war (necessarily at the expense of the working people of other nations) and the belief or knowledge that those voters who hold the balance of power in their constituencies demanded, as in 1913, that they support the Kaiser. I refer now to the bulk of the majority that favored voting the war-loan, and not to the more extreme opportunists. These have openly declared their program: "Socialism depends upon the growth of the industrial working-class, the industrial working-class depends upon the growth of industry, the growth of industry depends upon foreign trade and colonies, and these depend upon larger armaments." This view—from Bernstein's *Sozialistische Monatshefte*—spells imperialism and war.

The bulk of the majority considers the German workers exclusively but it does

not go quite this far. Their motives are as follows: While the Party is approximately equally divided between radicals and conservatives, the majority of the Socialist voters, as is well known, are by no means radical. They are composed not only of the anti-militarist laboring masses, but also of the aristocracy of labor, clerks, small officials, and to a large extent also, of small professional people, shop-keepers and peasants and other more militaristic classes. The majority of the German Socialists owed their election to these voters and respond to their views more readily than to those of the Party itself, which includes little more than a fourth of the Socialist voters.

But besides this irresistible political pressure, the Party was also governed by a principle more in accord with Socialism than mere negative yielding to outside political force. The faction which supports the war is that of the so-called "opportunists." That is, they belong to that school of Socialists who, in order to secure immediate results, are ready to compromise with the powers that be. In France this opportunism means merely a compromise with such progressives as Briand and Millerand, in England with such radicals as Lloyd George. In Germany it means deliberate and purposive compromise with the Kaiser; for the ruling power in Germany, the foundation of the whole social system, is militarism, and the Kaiser is its political expression and embodiment.

The so-called opportunists are ardent social reformers. In a military country like Germany the best hope of securing immediate social reforms is to yield to the very popular cause of militarism. The adoption of this policy, which occurred for the first time last year, can have but one meaning; the German Socialist Party, or its majority faction, has ceased to be international, and has become a purely nationalistic party. In order to secure the maximum of social reforms for the German working people at the earliest possible moment, the Socialists are ready first to vote the government the money necessary to build up a large army (which they did last year) and then to vote the government the money needed for actually carrying on war. Certainly the world can show no more ardent social reformers or more sincere representatives of a nation's laboring classes than these.

They are ready to sacrifice everything for immediate gains for the German working class—even to the lives of the working people of any and all foreign countries with which the Kaiser is pleased to go to war.

The support given the Kaiser by the German Party, or, at least, by its controlling faction, has left the Socialist world aghast ever since the news of it first got abroad—about the middle of August. At first it was not believed. The Socialist press of neutral countries, headed by the paper that first published the news, *Het Volk*, of Amsterdam, the official organ of the Dutch party (which is intimately related to that of Germany) could find only one word to characterize this astounding action. It was simply "incredible." And "incredible" was the only adequate word found by the leading representative of German Socialism in the new world, the daily *Volkszeitung*, of New York. The *Volkszeitung*, an ably edited organ, which has both the knowledge and responsibility that give authority, declared it to be simply unbelievable that "the bogey of Russian despotism" was the real cause of the action taken.

"It is simply unbelievable that our comrades suffered themselves to be driven into their incomprehensible position through fear of the bugaboo of Russian despotism. We were fully aware how skillfully the present German government has always understood the proper manipulation of its scarecrows in order to seduce the stupid people into nationalistic enthusiasm. A war against France or England would have been highly unpopular and, therefore, the adoption of this roundabout course by way of Russia.

"The position of the Social Democrats, however, could not have been in any way determined by the fact that Russia stood in the field against Germany, as there was no evidence that the former was the attacking party, the inciter of war.

"Austria made its insolent ultimatum to Serbia after she had assured herself of the help of Germany; just as Russia and France would never have begun without the help of England. Germany had it in her hands to maintain peace on both sides if she had really wished to do so.

"Under these conditions, the German Social Democracy had no ground whatsoever according to our opinion for altering its fundamental point of view."

The Belgian and French Socialists, as is known, at first opposed the war. Until the invasion of Belgium the "Internationale" drowned out the "Marseillaise" on the streets of Paris. The day Belgium was invaded both the Belgian and the French

parties and even the "anti-patriot" syndicalists, declared with practical unanimity for war. Vandervelde, chairman of the International Socialist Bureau, at once entered into the Belgian Cabinet; Sembat, successor to Jaurès in the leadership of the moderate Socialists of France, did the same thing in that country. But most convincing of all was the action of Jules Guesde, the world's leading Marxist since the death of Bebel, the opponent of the moderate Jaurès, and the deadly enemy of all relations with "bourgeoise" governments.

"I go into the Cabinet as an envoy of my party, not to govern, but to fight," he explained. "If I were younger, I should have shouldered a gun. But as my age does not permit this, I will, nevertheless, face the enemy and defend the cause of humanity.

"As the solidarity of workmen does not shut out their right to defend themselves against a traitor workmen, so international solidarity does not exclude the right of one nation to defend itself against a government traitor to the peace of Europe."

The *Volkszeitung* says that Guesde and Sembat, in entering the Cabinet, did no more than what their duty to Socialism required, since France is engaged in a defensive war.

It is true that the Socialists of all the neutral countries are now engaged in an effort to obtain an early peace. This would seem to mean that they are willing that all the old conditions which existed before the war should be restored and that no indemnities—for example, no indemnity for the invasion of Belgium—should be demanded—the same position as is taken by a number of friends of the German government. But the Socialist Parties take this attitude purely on grounds of nationalistic selfishness. The neutral countries are being greatly injured by the war, and the propaganda of their Socialist Parties and the hope of social reform are made exceedingly difficult. Without any special consideration of the French or Belgians or of German militarism, they are apparently ready for peace, perhaps not at any price, but at almost any price. While pacifist and anti-militarist, their attitude is such as would leave militarism in the saddle. They do not favor a League of Peace, in which Germany might be left out until it is democratized, for they know that such a demand might delay peace considerably. Without exception they de-



mand either a concert of Europe to include *all* the nations or an International Police involving *general* disarmament. Which means they are ready to wait until the Kaiser is ready for peace.

But while the weakness of the Socialist Party in the neutral countries, the fear that they have of being dragged into war, makes them retrogress to the point of abandoning the demand even for political democracy, and of being willing that the militarist nations should be left with the same *relative* strength as before—without any payment for their wrong to an innocent people and their destruction of a century's progress towards civilized warfare; it does not follow that these parties or their leaders are blind to the real situation. On the contrary, the Socialist leaders of Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, and part of those of this country have expressed the same horror at the actions of the German government in this war as is felt by the other citizens of these countries. Their anti-militarism and internationalism cannot be questioned. But their pacificism is so strong and deeply rooted, that they cannot bring themselves to take advantage of war or to favor its prolongation for the purpose of securing a permanent peace. Also the

political Socialists of these small countries are largely opportunists. Those of Denmark and Holland were on the point of forming coalition governments with the bourgeois radicals only last year. If the war continues it will knock these little plans on the head.

Now that the war is on there is only one position for revolutionary Socialists. *Let the war go on until the people of Russia, Germany and Austria are driven to revolt—and until the governments are so disorganized and unpopular that this revolt may succeed.*

All the Socialists of the world should at this moment be conducting a lively agitation to aid the European revolution—a revolution which, if it comes, will put the great French Revolution in the shade and shape the world's history for half a century. Democratic republics *established by revolution* are worth almost any sacrifice—especially when, as today, they are bound to make concessions to the industrial proletariat, *i. e.*, to Socialism.

With a revolution in Europe, we may hope to establish Socialism in all the more advanced countries *within ten or fifteen years*—as Engels predicted in 1892.





STUDIES OF MOVEMENTS IN THE PARIS AKADEMIA.

## RESCUING EPIRUS

By ARISTIDES PRATELLE

(A synopsis of Raymond Duncan's beautiful work and apostolate in Europe, in two years.)

HAVING deeply felt that modern war such as the savage struggle in which the Balkan states engaged themselves recently, is indeed a horrible thing, and a curse for harmony among the simple, primitive people of those countries as well as among humanity as a whole, Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Duncan, in May, 1913, started in London a movement for the immediate relief and repatriation of the famine-stricken and homeless populations of Epirus and Macedonia, who had been ruined by the Balkan war.

Shortly afterwards, Mr. Duncan and his family fixed their headquarters at Corfu, where they found 4,000 Turkish prisoners, among which 750 Moribunds in the Corfu hospital and only 30 beds for them! Neither food, nor clothing, nor blankets! Immediately the Duncans threw themselves into the work. The rate of mortality which had been of twelve persons every day in the beginning had fallen to five after a fortnight, and to one only every week. After a month's time at the same time with

the medical care, Mr. and Mrs. Duncan had given moral courage to the diseased prisoners, and it is well known that courage is a powerful remedy for many evils! . . . Let us add that, owing to his energetic attitude Raymond Duncan succeeded in helping hundreds of soldiers who had been dumped down and left stranded on the seashore, lacking means of transport to return to their homes.

Knowing full well that hunger and harmony have been at all times in open disagreement, Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Duncan, with but little support from the Occident, with only strength and skill or their own hands to help, but with unending devotion and generosity to save these suffering people, have indeed succeeded in starting a wonderful work in Epirus, conveying shipments of flour, rice, beans, etc., to Orchismos, building up bakeries and stores, selling the food at cost price, erecting hastily provisional shelters for the refugees and replacing them afterwards by stone homes adapted from the Orchismos ruins!



Knowing full well that lack of education and harmony cannot go together, Raymond Duncan, having saved from starvation the women and children whose villages had been burnt before the retreat of the Turks, built up schoolhouses for the children, giving thus for the first time since long ages to the young Epirotes "the comfort of cosy beds, proper food and facilities for cleanliness." The refugee children, amounting at times to 120, have been given help gratuitously, fed, housed and instructed free of charge in Mr. Duncan's school at Orchismos. They have been given a most valuable practical culture, while all the adults able to work have been given remunerative work.

Thus, knowing full well that lack of good work has always been a most dreaded obstacle to harmony, Mr. Duncan has re-established in Epirus the lost household industries, distributing to the villagers the wool for spinning and weaving, and selling the products from the fabrics (home-spun yarn and hand-woven rugs of the finest quality) to Athens, London and Paris.

Having well realized that true harmony can only take place on this planet through the efforts of the masses and result from their desire of justice and their constant endeavor to uplift themselves, Raymond Duncan opened two years ago, here in Paris, a model "Akademia" for the workers, in which those who are tired of being ruled by employers can begin to indulge in useful, remunerative, really artistic work, and improve their skill in the various lines of the arts and crafts.

Having been deeply moved by the famine and misery of the war-stricken population of Epirus, Raymond Duncan recently, together with the movement for hellenism, which is becoming already a most interesting and promising one, launched another movement in order to save the Epirotes from their oppressors and prevent once for all the European governments from continuing there their mischievous work as agents of disorder and strife among these naturally pacific populations.

By this short synopsis, we may see already that in these past few years Raymond Duncan has been one of the best and most typical illustrations of the results which can be achieved by a man when he is rich in will, in intelligence, in generosity, and in initiative. It may be said without exaggeration that up to this day his work in Epirus has saved more than 4,000 persons who would have certainly died, had he not come in due time to save them.

Speaking recently to an audience in Paris about music and harmony, Raymond Duncan said the following words, appealing for help to the generous, free-minded people of all countries: "True politics is the finest of all arts. Political harmony is the greatest harmony of all. If you are really artists, or if you are only really human beings, come with us to Epirus to help us upbuild a small ideal home, a wonderful little frame of villagers and art workers, of shepherds, of flocks of sheep and goats, among the most magnificent scenery to be dreamed of."



RAYMOND DUNCAN AND SON.

# Make an Ally of Your Enemy

SOMETIMES I wonder what people will say about us a hundred years from now. They will write books about us and dig up our skulls to find out if they were ivory clear through. They will read the records of what we said and did and how we lived and sweated to make beautiful and useful things—for somebody else to enjoy. And I expect they will finally give up the problem and decide that our poor heads just never developed any gray matter.

Then some wise old owlsh professor of biology will probably come forward and say we couldn't have had all the natural instincts, either, because even the lowest forms of animal life have enough sense to eat when there is food. Nobody ever heard of a monkey picking cocoanuts and going hungry. Perhaps some of our poor skulls will wind up in a museum devoted to the relics of the days when workingmen and women fed the whole world and starved themselves, and built houses and slept in lumber yards. This is going to be our fate unless we wake up and show a glimmering of intelligence occasionally.

It is easy to see what the trouble is even if we are not yet strong enough to stop it.

We know why we are working for ten, twelve, eighteen and twenty dollars a week and permitting the boss to keep the coal we dig, the clothes we make, the food we raise, the houses we build.

We know why the idle capitalist is BOSS of the factory and is able to take all the profits. We know why we slave long hours at starvation wages.

It is not because the capitalist OWNS the mill or mine, but because he BOSSES it. Nobody would care if he treasured his little old ownership papers till the crack of doom, provided that WE, who do the work, could GOVERN the plant, provided we could RUN the factory; in fact, if we could control the conditions under which we work, could keep our products and BOSS THE JOB.

If there were not a hundred men at the factory gates, at the mill, mine or shop every

morning TRYING TO GET OUR JOBS, we COULD RUN the shop.

We saw a traction gang at work last week. About every five minutes, in full view of the crew, an out-of-work would file up to the foreman and apply for a job. Every time the gang saw these job-seekers, they humped over a little farther and quickened their pace in order to show the boss they were accomplishing more than the half-starved applicants could do. And when the foreman's back was turned and these "unfortunates" happened to pass near the gang, the men glared and swore at them. And one or two kicked out viciously to speed the departing failures.

And the out-of-works had accomplished something *for the boss*. At the end of the day the foreman gave the crew their choice between being thrown into the ranks of the unemployed and accepting lower wages. Most of them took the lower pay and went away cursing "that scab lot" who had wrought the cut.

And that is precisely how your boss keeps you down. The fellows out of work don't get any help from you and they are compelled to beg, or scab, to steal, or starve.

And when it comes right down to going without three meals a day and carrying the banner indefinitely, most of us would work for a meal ticket and room rent—if not for ourselves, for a wife and kiddies.

We can't blame the man who is out of work and hungry. We have to blame *ourselves*. If we exerted our reasoning powers at all, we would join forces with the unemployed to fight the capitalist or employing class. We would make the unemployed our ALLIES and not our enemies.

We can't expect a man or woman to jump into a river or go off quietly to some secluded corner and starve to death just for our sake. If they are not to take our jobs or lower our wages we must expect to *give them* something in exchange for their help and co-operation. The employing class are their enemy just as they are yours and mine.

In this connection we want to remember



that the bosses cannot reduce wages or lengthen hours at their own sweet will. It is the needs of the unemployed that do this. Wages and hours are determined by the number of unemployed who are after a job. When men are scarce, the men on the job are able to raise wages and shorten their hours. When men are plentiful and there are *more* men than jobs, the competition for work among the working class forces wages ever lower, forces hours that are ever longer.

Now the boss cannot run the factory or the shop or mill without human labor power—men and women who will operate the machines and produce commodities to sell. It is to *our* interests to *control* the *supply* of *labor power*. We will act like the commission merchants who threw several cargoes of bananas into the lake in order to raise the price of bananas. We will WITH-HOLD some of the laborers from the market and *raise* the *price* of the labor power of those on the job. We will then be able to shorten hours and thus *put* some of the *unemployed to work*. And this is only for a beginning.

Nobody imagines there are more than ten per cent of the available workers unemployed in America today. Probably the number is much less, but, at any rate, it is up to US, who HAVE work, to feed, house and clothe every single person out of a job *who will refuse to work* unless he gets HIGHER wages and SHORTER hours than we are getting.

We will not have to SHARE our WAGES long. As soon as the bosses fail to find scores of desperate people begging for a chance to work every day, they will HAVE to give us shorter hours. And this will put some of the unemployed to work at once.

It is true your boss may refuse to grant you shorter hours, but you can all quit at 4 o'clock and go home. And what will the boss be able to do about it if he has nobody else to put in your place? In this way we can institute NEW shop LAWS. We shall have begun to practically control our labor power and the shop or plant in which we work.

We shall be able to refuse a cut in wages when we get the shorter work day for the same reason that we were able to shorten hours—the boss will be unable to get anybody else to take our jobs.

And when we are strong enough (well enough organized with our unemployed friends) to cut down our working day two hours, we shall be able to put every man and woman to work. Shorter hours means more jobs.

#### MAKE YOUR EMPLOYERS PAY

Our good friend, Joe Hill, asked last month in an article in the REVIEW, who was going to pay the big bill for taking care of the unemployed. Why the employers, of course!

You and I and the other folks on the job, may have to share up for a few weeks, but as soon as we are organized with our friends who are "laid off" so that they insist on *demanding higher wages and shorter hours* than we have before they will accept a job, we can force the bosses to put more and more of them to work.

#### NOT ENOUGH JOBS?

Somebody said the other day, "Well, but my goodness gracious! There are not enough JOBS for EVERYBODY!" He was wrong. We will cut the ten-hour day of the steel mill worker in HALF, if necessary, and MAKE TWO GOOD JOBS at good pay where there was only ONE ROTTEN JOB BEFORE!

And then when we have learned to regulate the supply of labor power (workingmen and women) we can begin to put on the screws. We won't have to BUY the capitalist out, or build competing railroads. We will just be so strong in the shop, on the railroad, in the mines and mills that we will KEEP the value of our own products and eliminate the profits or rake-off of the capitalist class. Then ownership papers will not bring thirty cents on the stock exchange.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now, of course, a few of us can't do all this alone. Our wages would not buy breakfast for half the jobless men we meet every morning on Clark street. But we CAN buy breakfast or dinner for one or two. And chiefly we can spread the propaganda for organization *with* the unemployed instead of organization AGAINST *them* and the *employing* class.

It is true it will not do *much* good to try to help and co-operate with the unemployed in a *single* city, for the unemployed go from town to town and from country to country in search of work. We must start organizing with the unemployed every-

where as fast as possible. The alliance between men on the jobs and the men who are "laid off" cannot work out perfectly in an isolated point. But it will *improve conditions wherever it is inaugurated*. And every time it is tried the idea will grow a hundred fold. The movement will be stronger.

We can each and all help the unemployed today and we can tell *why* and *how* we need their help. We can all give one jobless man a meal every day. We can help to find shelter for them. We can force all unions to come to their assistance, we can turn over the socialist party headquarters and union headquarters into soup kitchens, propaganda meeting places, organization head-

quarters, and lodging rooms for the out-of-works.

And tell every workingman everywhere you go to ORGANIZE WITH THE UNEMPLOYED AND FIGHT THE BOSSES! Tell them to share with their friends who are out of work until the men on the jobs can shorten hours and MAKE JOBS for them. *You can boss the boss* if he can't get a man to take your place when you strike for shorter hours and higher pay.

Organize with the UNEMPLOYED and you can put all men and women to work; you can control the shop and mill and mine and some day you can keep the value of your products and abolish the profit system!

## SOCIALISM IN OKLAHOMA

By O. M. MORRIS

THE steady growth of Socialism in Oklahoma since its admission into the Union in 1907 is attracting the attention of both the Socialists and anti-Socialists of the country. The official vote of the Socialist party since 1900 is as follows:

1900 .....	815
1902 .....	1,963
1904 .....	4,443
1906 .....	4,042
1908 .....	21,779
1910 .....	24,707
1912 .....	42,262
1914 .....	52,570

In the recent election about 250,000 votes were cast, which gives one Socialist vote in every five. The socialists are working people, and many of them have to leave home in order to get work. A conservative estimate is that half as many Socialists are disfranchised in Oklahoma as there are who vote. These are unable to leave their work to go home on election day. The voters of the other parties are permanent residents, being bankers, professional men, merchants, etc., and are not so large a wage-earning class.

The conditions in Oklahoma are, doubtless, different from any other state in the Union from a political standpoint. About 1809 some Cherokee Indians in the south-

eastern states asked President Jefferson to remove their hunting grounds west of the Mississippi. At first they located in Arkansas, but later in Oklahoma. Still later the Choctaws and Chickasaws negotiated treaties and located in the southern part of the state, and then came the Seminoles and Creeks to negotiate treaties in the north central part of the Territory.

Many of these Indians brought their slaves with them and this gave us a class of people called freedmen.

During 1889 President Harrison issued a proclamation stating that about two million acres of lands purchased from the Creeks and Seminoles would be opened for homesteading at noon on April 22. About 20,000 people were on the border and when the signal was given, a most remarkable and spectacular race ensued for homes. These were some of our pioneer citizens.

The Chickasaws, Choctaws, Cherokees, Seminoles and Creeks were known as the five civilized tribes, and treaties were made with them by which they were allowed to make their own laws, so long as they preserved their tribal relations. After the Civil war, many whites mingled with these Indians, gained control of their government for their own selfish ends. The coun-



try become a refuge for fugitives from justice. The Dawes commission was appointed in 1893 to induce the tribes to accept individual allotments, as well as a government administered from Washington. In 1898 the Curtis Act was passed making such allotments and establishing a territorial government. As allotments were nearly all made by 1906, Congress authorized Oklahoma and Indian Territories to qualify for admission to the Union, and the State of Oklahoma was admitted on November 16th, 1907.

The majority of the people in Oklahoma have come from Texas and Arkansas families. Others came from Kansas, Iowa and Nebraska. But people from every state and practically from nearly every nation can be found here in Oklahoma.

This mixture of the people from all over the world with different opinions freely exchanged, has given Oklahoma a population far above the average state in intelligence, but along with the working folks came the professional class of machine politicians who gained control of the state government. Perhaps Oklahoma has had the most corrupt government of any state in the Union. County and municipal control fell into the hands of politicians, trained in all the arts of corrupt ward politics. Happy is the town or county that has escaped the professional politician.

Shell-game men from Sells Bros. and Forepaugh's Circus were appointed to state offices having control of millions of dollars of public funds. The State Treasury is used to being looted.

The charge of Miss Kate Barnard, Commissioner of Charities of Oklahoma, in the Literary Digest of November 28, 1914, that there is a conspiracy to rob the Indians of Oklahoma of over 200 million dollars' worth of land, is in line with the work of our political grafters. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Cato Sells, says that Miss Barnard's charges are true in the main. Miss Barnard shows that this conspiracy reaches back to the fourth legislature, of which the writer was a member, and the writer is of the opinion that Miss Barnard is correct. Nearly every department of state government has suffered in proportion to the Indians.

The political machine of Oklahoma began in the Constitutional Convention, when the delegates divided the offices as did the

members of the Illinois legislature when they cut up the Lorimer slush fund melon. If there were not sufficient offices for the delegates, then offices were created to suit the demand. Oklahoma has the reputation of having more offices and useless officers than any state in the Union.

Politics has dominated every state school, the state banking department, the state board of agriculture, the eleemosynary institutions, and even the orphans, under state control, have suffered from the politician.

The President of the University of Indiana writes the Governor of Oklahoma that a member of his faculty has investigated the state school system in Oklahoma and finds "the trouble is politics."

The Saturday Evening Post says that the trouble with the guaranty fund of the Oklahoma State Banking Department "is politics."

The legislature of Oklahoma since statehood has cost the people nearly one million dollars, and the farmers have no road law, and no roads, a school book law that costs the school patrons millions of dollars by the change in text books. Judge Robberson, of the Supreme Court Commission, says that Oklahoma has the most barbarous and unjust tax law of any civilized nation on earth, and that the primary law ought to be amended in twenty-five different places.

The farmers of Oklahoma realized that the politicians around the county-seat towns have made the slates for the candidates, and they are beginning to vote the Socialist ticket to break the interlocked political combine consisting of the newspaper owners, county officials and the political hangers-on. About four-fifths of the Socialist vote of Oklahoma consists of farmers.

In the recent general election, the Socialists carried six counties, elected one state senator, five members of the lower house, and county officials and commissioners all over the state.

The Democratic politicians, seeing their constant gains, realize that the Socialist party will elect a full ticket in Oklahoma in 1916, and are now trying to combine with the Republicans to defeat the Socialists.

Two conditions give rise to the constant gain of the Socialist vote in Oklahoma. The first is the intelligence of the Oklahoma farmer, who reads a great deal, and

the constant political agitation in Oklahoma, giving him an opportunity to hear the political situation discussed. He has discovered that he is not getting a square deal. Another reason for the gain of the Socialist vote and the loss of the Democratic vote in Oklahoma is the revolt against the corrupt conditions in Oklahoma politics. However, the first is the main cause, and the Oklahoma farmer can see that the workingman, who produces all the wealth, only receives from 17 per cent to 40 per cent of what he produces, and that 60 per cent to 83 per cent goes into the pocket of the middleman, banker, stockholders, etc., a majority of which is useless.

The lawyer, banker, real estate agents combine. In collusion with the probate courts, they have taken about all of the Indian lands of the less than half breeds, in many instances borrowing more money on the lands than they are sold for, until the day of the Red Man in Oklahoma has just about passed.

About 90 per cent of the farms in Oklahoma are mortgaged for all they will sell for, and the crops and live stock are mortgaged for more than they will bring at the prevailing prices. The Oklahoma farmer has *possession* of his farm and that is all.

If the farmer buys a farm on deferred payments, by paying \$1,000 on a \$3,000 farm, under our tax laws, he must pay taxes on \$3,000, although he only owns \$1,000 in the farm. He must pay interest on \$2,000 at 9 to 10 per cent, and then if he needs money he must pay the local bank from 25 to 100 per cent per annum. So the Oklahoma farmer realizes that the legislature has been a detriment to him and he is turning to the Socialist party. He sees he cannot exist under the present million-dollar Democratic legislature.

The Oklahoma farmer has found out that the politician has made the laws to benefit the banker, the lawyer, the newspapermen, etc., but nothing has been done for the farmer.

The agitator has always been the most unpopular and the most useful man in the history of the world. Reforms must be agitated, although anyone demanding a change in the established customs is looked upon with suspicion. Without the agitator, few changes would ever take place.

Oklahoma has a good supply of agitators and Oklahoma will be in the Socialist column in 1916 as the first state in the Union to adopt the platform of the workingman's party.





# MARX'S AND ENGELS' FORTY YEARS' CORRESPONDENCE

By GUSTAV BANG

Translated by Caroline Nelson

THE first part of the correspondence throws a light on the modern labor movement in its swaddling clothes, before it was distinct from the revolutionary psychology of the bourgeois revolutions before 1848. In this period the chief work for the later Socialistic movement was,—“The Communist Manifesto.”

Around 1840 there was all over Western Europe a strong, rising intellectual fermentation. People had a sort of a prophetic idea of the revolutionary overthrow that was about to take place. The capitalist method of production had undermined the foundation of society which was built upon forms inherited from older times, and a terrible clash showed itself more and more to be unavoidable.

It was the bourgeoisie, as it naturally had to be, that at that time entertained the revolutionary views, because conditions were at war with their economic interests, and because they were historically to create a free play for capitalist productive evolution. But it went here as it has gone in all other similar events, viz., the movement spread downward to the working class, and here got its special color, in agreement with their economic and social demands, which in the revolutionary circles were strongest in the foreground.

“Communism” was the name under which this first labor movement sprouted among the western European workers—a word that has no other meaning than the words—Scientific Socialism—that later took its place.

For the first time then do we find in continental Europe a Socialist movement, not alone in small scattered groups, but as a mass movement. This movement was yet extremely muddled in its conception, and in most instances only half conscious of its purpose. It was also strongly impregnated with many petty bourgeois notions, and to a certain extent with all kinds of Utopian

dreamings. Nevertheless, it showed that the working class was on the point of awakening to a consciousness of its position in society and to drawing conclusions from it.

It was very natural that in the most industrially developed countries in Europe, where a new working class had formed, which was very different from the old, it should be there that communism found its first foothold. This was in France, Belgium, Switzerland and Western Germany, not to mention England, where capitalist development was far ahead of any on the continent. Everywhere could be found not only workers, but small bourgeoisie, academicians and officials who were followers of communism; and the membership increased from year to year.

The organizations in the large cities were very active instruments in spreading the communistic ideas over the world. Their membership was for the most part German political exiles and wandering journeymen, and their program all over was communistic. Here the most intelligent workers became acquainted with the thoughts that were foremost in their time and spread them further.

The first letters in the group were from Engels in 1844-1845 and they were written in western Germany. They give a general view of the communistic movement as it developed there. He tells how he meets comrades everywhere, and that he is constantly surprised to find people who, apparently without any special influence, have formed communistic clubs. So that the ideas that scarcely a year before were not known are now subjects for lively discussions in books and articles, in newspapers and magazines. The first agitation had to be carried on quietly from man to man, but very soon public meetings were held that caused great attention. Engels writes in a letter in February, 1845:

"We held a meeting yesterday in the city's finest hall, in the finest hotel, which was our third communistic meeting. Forty people came to our first meeting, and to the second we had 130, and at the third there were at least 200. The whole of Eberfeld and Barmen, from the money aristocrat to the small merchant, was represented, but the workers remained away. We talk about nothing but communism and each day brings us new followers."

This letter gives away the weakness that the communist movement in western Europe at that time suffered from lack of proletarian backbone. It consisted of academicians, officials and small merchants, at least they formed the majority among the communists, even in the places where capitalist industry was most developed. The workers for the greater part remained out of the movement. Engels did not like this situation, and in the very first letter in the collection he says:

"It is already many years since the working class has reached the last steps of the old civilization. The awful increase in the number of crimes, robbery and murder is their protest against the old social organization. The streets are unsafe at nights; the bourgeois get thrashed and sometimes stabbed in the back and robbed, and if the proletariat here develop after the same law as in England, it will become plain that it is useless to protest by violence as individuals against the social order, and they will protest as human beings showing their solidarity through communism. If only we could get to show them the way! But that seems impossible."

The second weak point in communism was that it was not then clear. It sought to create a Socialist order in society, but regarding the means that should be used to bring this about, there was the greatest confusion. All kinds of imaginary ideas bobbed up and found followers. A theoretical education was imperative. Engels requests Marx to send out a pamphlet on National economy. He writes:

"Even if there is much that you, yourself, are not satisfied with, minds are ripe, and we must strike while the irons are hot."

At this time Engels wrote his famous book "The Condition of the English Workers." He wondered what influence it would have on the German workers as a means to

awaken their sleeping class consciousness. Regarding it he writes:

"It is natural that when I here hammer away that I really mean to strike the—ass, viz., the German bourgeoisie, whom I plainly make understand that they are just as bad as the English, except for the fact that they have less courage and initiative in their attempt to flay the workers."

The same muddled ideas greet Engels after he has moved to Paris in 1846, where he constantly associates with the German political exiles. There were hair-splitting debates about all sorts of hazy notions, and endless discussions about human rights and the real worth of material things, etc. The communist's meetings were so dull that the audiences could not keep awake. Engels sought in lectures and debates to make an account of the aims of communism, and the means that should bring it about. He succeeded in some degree, but the object was well nigh impossible.

About this time Proudhon stepped upon the scene with his ideas which attracted great attention, not only among the French workers, but also among the foreign workers in Paris. The idea was that the workers should use their savings to start factories, in which they at the same time should be both shareholders and workers, and this kind of production should so develop that little by little it would be able to displace capitalist production and establish the Socialist order.

Engels called this a fanatical idea and thought that it was necessary to carry on a critical agitation against it. He writes:

"The German workers are really stupid enough to believe in it, although they cannot keep twenty-five cents in their pockets to pay for their meeting places. They, nevertheless, believe that with their savings they can buy out the whole of beautiful France. The craziest phraseology has to them more worth than the simplest fact and a proven knowledge of economics. That we really have to fight such barbaric nonsense is disgusting."

Marx now wrote a book against Proudhonism in 1847 under the title of "The Poverty of Philosophy," and unveiled its impossibility. Engels' letter from Paris shows that all this was necessary to make room for the idea of modern Socialism among the working class.

Of much greater importance for the



future was, of course, "The Communist Manifesto," which was written by Marx and Engels in co-operation at the end of 1847. The communists had requested them to write out a program with a short account of the communistic objects and purposes. It was to be ratified in a congress to be held in London in December, 1847, where Engels was to be present. From one of Engels' letters it seems that it was he who planned this world-wide famous, little sketch, while Marx only took part in its editing. Engels wrote:

"I believe that we do best in leaving the catechismic form and calling it, The Communist Manifesto, as we must tell a great deal of history in it. That form we first thought of is not suitable. I bring with me what I have outlined. It is simple telling, but poor editing. I begin with—What is Communism? Right after that I show how the proletariat arose, and its difference from the past working class, and then I go on to the development of the opposing interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; then I show the economic crises and their results. In this I mix all sorts of side interests and finish with the communist party politics as far as it concerns the public."

The reaction that followed the revolution of 1848 brought communism to a disorganized and weakened state. The organizations that were saved split up into inner cliques that were often very sectarian. Marx and Engels drew out of all connection with them. They felt that there was important work to be done in establishing

a theoretical basis, for the movement which should form the sure foundation for the coming, real revolutionary labor movement. They isolated themselves, and it was well for them to slip from the whole system of compromising, half-baked ideas, which occupied the groups at that time. They purposely severed themselves from all official positions in the small revolutionary committees and cliques. Engels wrote somewhat bitterly:

"We are really more revolutionary than the phrase mongers, because we have learned something which they have not; and we know what we want which they do not."

Marx several years later gives vent to the following remarks:

"Our position as representatives of the proletarian party we owe to our own efforts, and what establishes it is the general hate that all the groups in the old world and in the old parties have for us."

It was with great joy that they saw here and there small organizations spring up with the Communist Manifesto as a program. But they understood that a long time must pass before the next great proletarian uprising could take place.

But this awful time,—“this awful peace period,” as Marx calls it, was not wasted. During this time took place not only a slow growth of class consciousness among the working class in Europe, but also the writing of the principle work “Capital” that laid the theoretical foundation for the whole of the modern labor movement.

(To be continued)





## EDITORIAL

### The War Through Socialist Lenses

THE most basic of Socialist theories is economic determinism. By this we mean that the mass actions of people, the religious or political ideas which they agree in accepting, the customs and laws which they make for themselves—all these are the direct result of the changing *methods of production*, through which people supply themselves with food, clothing and shelter. Primitive men supposed that malignant demons or angry gods were responsible for cyclones, lightning and earthquakes. Nearly all civilized men now explain these in terms of natural law, but a vast majority still explain human actions as “good” or “bad,” as either the product of “free will” or influenced by a good god or a bad devil.

We Socialists owe to Marx and Engels a knowledge that the most important acts of human beings may be explained in terms of natural law, and that these actions are as necessary and inevitable as the movements of winds and waters, plants and animals.

Rightly applied, this law of determinism will give us a clearer insight into passing events, a more steadfast optimism in the face of apparent misfortunes, and a broader sympathy for all workers, no matter how misguided they seem. In shaping the course of events, people's resemblances to each other are vastly more important than their apparent differences.

One of the greatest obstacles to a clear understanding of the law of economic determinism is a faulty statement of the law

sometimes made by Socialists who ought to know better. According to them, it means that individuals nearly always act according to their own material interests. Now, this is not what Marx and Engels said, and it is very far from the truth.

There are a few fundamental desires found in every normal man and woman—desires which must be gratified if the individual or the race is to survive, such as the desires for food, clothing and shelter, for union with the opposite sex, and for avoidance of danger to self or offspring. When these desires are gratified with extreme difficulty, they make up the greater portion of an individual's experience, but whenever they are gratified easily, other and more complex desires come to the surface, and it is precisely the mode of social production, together with the position of any given individual in the social order to which he belongs that determine what those complex desires are to be, and how powerfully each will affect each individual.

Prof. J. Howard Moore, in his new book entitled “The Law of Biogenesis,” shows that each individual in his own development,—both physical and mental, repeats the long-past history of his race. Thus men's actions are shaped not only by the mode of production which they themselves use, but also by the mode of production that their grandfathers used.

Ghosts of the past lay invisible hands on the brains of Europeans today; these are warlike ghosts, born in the days when war was the only “honorable” business. Millions of European workingmen,



nearly half of them Socialists, are now engaged in slaughtering each other, under the leadership of officers from the exploiting classes. They are not traitors to the working class, but the ghosts of the past are too strong for them and they obey. Let us not condemn our European comrades too hastily or too severely, until we have taken account of our own American ghosts.

These ghosts are a survival from the first half of the nineteenth century, when free land was plentiful, and when there was really some local justification for the popular belief that if a man failed to support his family in comfort it was because he was lazy or incompetent. These

American ghosts still whisper to each American workingman that by industry and loyalty to his employer he has a chance to become wealthy, provided he frowns on the agitators who try to stir up class strife. The ghosts are lying, but most Americans still believe them. So let us be sparing in our condemnation of the wage-workers in Europe.

They are learning in a hard school. So are our fellow workers in America. Fortunately, while these ghosts live longer than people, they do not live forever. The Machine Process is now in the very act of making war too expensive for even the most devoted patriots. It will attend to the Profit System next.



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For many years Socialists have tried to get Samuel Gompers to debate with some prominent Socialist. At last the unexpected has happened. Morris Hillquit and Samuel Gompers locked horns in a debate before the Commission on Industrial Relations at New York City. Not only were both permitted to refute each other's arguments, but they were allowed to cross-question each other. The Socialists are not ashamed of the result. The debate bristles with wit and repartee. You will read it with interest and pleasure.

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# LABOR NEWS

## Dry Rot Clinches Hold on the A. F. of L.

By a Spectator

THE recent convention of the American Federation of Labor in Philadelphia was about as inspiring as a coroner's inquest over an Egyptian mummy of the third century before Christ.

The faithful old official machine flattened out all opposition as effectually as ever and the occasion lacked even the temporary excitement that the convention has become accustomed to in the last few days of its sessions when the Socialists come up for their annual trimming in the presidency contest.

Radical measures and attempts at industrial unity and reform met with the most dispiriting lack of support. Even the promised fight over the proposal of the progressive garment workers to clean house in their unions failed to materialize. The revolting element of the United Garment Workers met complete defeat and the old officialdom against which many members have brought repeated accusations was reinstated with honor, while the offenders were warned to behave.

Even Duncan McDonald of the United Mine Workers, who seldom overlooks an opportunity to prod Gompers and his lieutenants, was silent on the floor, though he made his feelings plain at a meeting held by the Socialist Party for Jim Larkin as the convention was about to close. The Socialists decided not to risk further loss of prestige by putting up a hopeless fight against Gompers.

That gentleman, by the way, was as supreme as ever and handled himself with his usual ability as a tactician and floor general. He made one exceptionally clever move, which

later probably had its bearing on the fact that his salary was raised from \$5,000 to \$7,000 a year in order to meet the ever advancing cost of living.

Walter George Smith, a lawyer, who looked as if he had never worn a shirt costing less than \$4.50 in his life, got leave to address the convention on behalf of the Catholic fraternal delegates. He called upon the American workingman to be a good boy, be content with beans for Sunday dinner, regard all agitators with virtuous scorn, and look up to his employer as one whom God in his infinite wisdom, etc., etc.

Gompers was in a quandary. He feared to offend the Catholic representation in the convention, but he knew from the entire absence of cheers that greeted Brother Walter George's remarks that it was up to him to say something in reply. So he girded up his loins, and finding that the convention was with him, warmed up to his subject and sunk a good-sized harpoon in the fraternal spokesman. His speech, in effect, warned Brother Smith and his kind to attend to their own knitting while workingmen with vicious employers to face attended to theirs. Father Peter Deitz meanwhile stood back of the scenes using the most unpriestly language. The speech was timely and effective and did much to bolster up Gompers' stock.

Philadelphia greeted the convention with white archways, many electric lights, and a court of honor. It has used a different kind of court on members of the A. F. of L. in the past, but then times do change.

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## Letter From a Butte Miner

I HAVE not seen Butte so dead during a period of almost twenty years. Union activity is at a standstill all along the line. The industrial conditions are positively the worst that Butte has ever experienced. Not one-third of the usual quota of men are employed. Business failures are the order of the day. Suffering and want among the poor are great. The soldiers left a month ago and things have drifted back into the old rut.

The county attorney, whose term expires on January 1, 1915, is making strenuous efforts to bring all the "kidnaping" cases on trial before he retires. There is a well-laid plan to have all the trials take place outside this county, as they feel sure of convictions, something that they could not bank on should they be held here. All citizens of Butte are familiar

with the tactics pursued by the old Miners' Union, and a conviction for the same offense would be much more difficult here than elsewhere. As you are aware, McDonald and Bradley were convicted in a neighboring county and sentenced to three years and five years respectively in the penitentiary. To those acquainted with the facts it looks like a case of railroadage, as they harmed no one, neither did they hold anyone for ransom. They only did in a more spectacular manner the things that have been done here for thirty years. The new union is now raising a defense fund to fight the other cases and to make appeals to the higher courts if necessary.

Members of the new union, with the assistance of some others, have established a "soup kitchen," where over 200 people are fed daily.

## You Owe Your Face a Good, Clear Skin

**And Stuart's Calcium Wafers in a Very Short Time Will Clear Up Your Complexion Naturally**

Just in a few days one may clear the skin of all manner of blemishes such as pimples, blotches, liver spots, etc., if one will use Stuart's Calcium Wafers.

Don't use pasty lotions and creams to fill up the pores when they are working constantly with the blood to throw off the impurities of your system.



**"Before I rid my face of pimples I was not thought to be pretty. But all the change I made was to clean my blood and skin."**

Many a face is made with beautiful contour and artistically lined, but when the skin is discolored one cannot see the beauty of the face lines. One notices only the skin blemishes.

It's because pimples and eruptions come from the inside—from impure blood—and you can't cure them by rubbing stuff on the outside of the face. Purify the blood and the blemishes will disappear.

Stuart's Calcium Wafers will often clear the complexion in a few days' time. That's the wonderful part of it—they act right off—in a hurry. That's because they're made of just the ingredients needed to drive all poisons and impurities from the blood. That's why doctors prescribe them so constantly.

You will speedily enjoy a beautiful complexion if you use these wonderful little Wafers. Your face will become as clear and pure as a rose. Nobody likes to have pimply-faced people around. With Stuart's Calcium Wafers you don't have to wait for months before getting results. Even boils have been cured in a few days' time with these remarkably effective blood cleansers. Your whole system will feel better in a marvelously short time, and my, what a difference in your looks!

You can get Stuart's Calcium Wafers of any druggist at 50 cents a box. A small sample package mailed free by addressing F. A. Stuart Company, 175 Stuart Bldg., Marshall, Mich.



The unemployed army was never so large, and its presence, of course, is a menace to any improvement contemplated by those who are employed.

A number of shift bosses and others around the mines, who refused to be deputized, have been discharged. This in itself is a hopeful sign.

The Socialist Party succeeded in electing

from this county two men to the State Legislature out of a possible thirteen. This is looked upon as a fair showing when it is considered that the panic drove hundreds of working class voters from the city. Victory in the city election next April will depend very much on the straightening out of the factional differences that exist and the return to normal industrial conditions.

## The Miners of Arkansas

Freda Hogan

READERS of THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW no doubt know more or less of the non-union trouble in Arkansas and in connection with which between two and three hundred United States soldiers, as many horses and two machine guns have been stationed near the mines where open shop operations were attempted.

Early in the spring Franklin Bache broke his contract with the miners' union and announced that he would immediately begin to operate one of his several mines with non-union labor, and extend the operations to the others as the success of his plan was demonstrated.

Through gross misrepresentations and the hostility of the federal judge to unions, Bache succeeded in securing an injunction restraining anyone from interfering with his operations. He was unsuccessful in his attempt to secure United States guards to enforce the terms of the injunction, so imported private guards—dregs of our so-called civilization. These men insulted the wives and daughters of the miners, shot into their homes and pregnant women were compelled to flee in the night for protection.

The men arose in revolt. They organized and completely destroyed the Bache properties, driving the gunmen from the country. All that was left of Bache's boast to break the union was the smoking ruins of his tipples and shafts.

The Federal court next declared the companies, of which Bache was president, bankrupt, and he was appointed receiver. It is believed that Bache, himself, is responsible for the more recent raids, since they were made to furnish justification for sending the troops to protect him. The union men at that time had nothing to fight about.

The soldiers and their war paraphernalia have been here a little over a week and there has been absolutely no disturbance. Numerous newspaper writers are on the ground and are making brave attempts to furnish copy. But the best they have been able to do is report 'possum hunts by the soldiers, their attendance at dances, where they are supposed to have completely "beaten the time" of the miner boys. But this is stubbornly denied by the girls of the valley, whose unionism has been tested and not found wanting.

If the President is willing to use the troops to protect this scab-herder he can make good. But even then the Bache companies are among

the smallest in Arkansas, Oklahoma and Texas. There is no serious, immediate menace in the success of Bache, alone.

What is feared is that he is being supported by the larger and more powerful companies; that he is working under their direction—for them. When Bache did business with the union he had no money. He couldn't pay his debts, couldn't get credit, couldn't borrow money. But since attempting to operate his mines with scab labor—although not a ton of coal has been dug and shipped and his expenses have been enormous—he has had plenty of money.

We are not sure what to expect. We can only wait and see. But whatever the future holds in store, the men and women of the valley are to be counted upon. They are not union men in an empty sense. They mean it. The U. M. W. of A., into which they are organized, cannot be said to have reached a plane of perfection. But life means infinitely more to the miners, their wives and babies, to everyone in this section, because of it. We all remember the dark days before the union—the "pluck-me" stores, 2,500 pounds for a ton and multitudinous injustices practiced. There will be no going back to that day in this valley.

Not the least effect of the trouble is the awakening it has worked among the men. Perhaps nowhere has the absolute sameness of the old parties, so far as working class rights are concerned, been more clearly illustrated.

It was in 1900 that the miners were engaged in the struggle to form their organization. A democrat, appointed by Cleveland, but serving under McKinley, was federal judge of this district. In 1914 a republican, appointed by Taft, but serving under Wilson graces the judge's bench. Politically, the reversal is complete. But the injunction issued by the democrat is identical with that issued by the republican.

We had beaten Bache. The solid front and courage of the coal diggers was more powerful than his dastardly ingenuity. But Uncle Sam, with his soldiers and machine guns, is bigger than we are. We cannot cope with him. This is not an admission of cowardice. It is the acknowledgment of a stubborn, irrefutable fact.

The only way is to get control of these implements of working class subjugation and use them in our behalf instead of against us. To fight with one arm—our industrial organiza-

tion—is well; but could the most ardent socialist propagandist ask for a better example of the importance of using the other arm—the class conscious ballot—as well?

It doesn't take us long to decide what would have happened had 'Gene Debs been in Woodrow Wilson's place and a class-conscious working man on the Federal judge's bench.

What is meant by "class character of the courts," phrase of the wild and woolly socialists, is coming to be understood in working class ranks of Western Arkansas.

At the time of making requisition for the U. S. troops, Federal Judge F. A. Joumans empanelled a special grand jury for the ostensible purpose of probing the trouble. In the selection of the jury he displayed the same fine discrimination, which all along has branded him the willing tool of Bache, the scab herder and violator of contracts.

The foreman of the jury was a stockholder in the Bache companies—there is no record to indicate that he, at any time, transferred his holdings. A warm personal friend of Bache, he is also president of the hardware company which supplied the guns for Bache's army of private gunmen. He is Bache's largest creditor—the heaviest loser in case of the failure of this financial schemer.

On the 25th the jury completed its work, returning thirty-five indictments. Of the thirty-five indicted, the names of nine have so far been kept secret.

Here are some of the charges: Three of the men cut open a sack of feed; two threw rocks at some of the non-union employes. One man was indicted simply because, when a passenger on a train, he expressed himself in favor of organization. Were it not for the seriousness of the situation—the enormous expense in which the miners' union is involved and the probable jail sentences awaiting some of the members—it would be ridiculous. The majority of the indicted men have made bond, many having voluntarily surrendered themselves, and are at liberty, awaiting trial in January of next year.

Preparation for the operation of the Bache mines proper has not begun. Between thirty and forty non-unionists are at work in two pigeon holes and it is reported that five or six cars of coal have been dug. Figures compiled show that it costs the government \$220.80 per day to keep the troops here—to protect a scab herder in the production of less than a hundred tons of coal! Happy echo of your last democratic vote, brother union man!

From West Virginia to Michigan, to Colorado, to Ohio, to Arkansas, the scene shifts, but the play doesn't change. The question at stake is the same—the right of the workers to organize; their right to bargain collectively for the sale of all they have to sell—labor power.

This is the right which the federal judge of this district failed or refused to see. They see and think only in terms of the divine right of property and nefarious money-making schemes. Of the divine rights of men and women and children they know and care nothing.

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This is not idle talk. Make me prove it. Write a postcard. Let me write you a long letter. Then decide. No experience needed, no capital. Your credit is good if you mean business. But you *must* be ambitious, you must want to make money. That's all. Write a postcard now.

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"Actina." "Actina" also relieves Sore and Granulated Lids, Iritis, Cataracts, etc., without cutting or drugging. Over 100,000 "Actinas" have been sold; therefore the Actina treatment is not an experiment, but is reliable. The following letters are but samples of hundreds we receive:

Mr. David Sutte, Glen Ellyn, Ill., writes: "I sent for your 'Actina,' and when it came I told my wife I would throw my glasses away and give the 'Actina' a fair show. I did so, following directions, and soon felt my eyes were getting in normal condition again and now I can say my eyesight is as good as ever, and my headaches practically vanished."

Mr. Emery E. Deltrick, 7124 Idlewild Street, E. E., Pittsburgh, Pa., writes: "My eyes were very weak and my vision was so bad that I could recognize people only at short distances. Since using 'Actina' I have discarded my glasses, my headaches are gone, and my vision, I believe, is as good as ever it was."

Mr. J. H. Frankenfield, 522 E. 20th Street, Cheyenne, Wyo., writes: "Regarding what the 'Actina' has done for me, I am proud to say that I am not wearing my glasses at all. As for my catarrh, it is almost gone and I have been troubled with it for more than sixteen years."

"A great number of my railroad friends are buying 'Actinas,' as you know by the orders you have received."

"Actina" can be used with perfect safety by every member of the family for any affliction of the eye, ear, throat or head. A Free trial of the "Actina" is given in every case.

Send for our FREE TRIAL offer and valuable FREE BOOK. Address Actina Appliance Co., Dept. 312-N 811 Walnut St., Kansas City, Mo.



And it will never be any better until we earnestly set to work to make of the government of this country a working class structure. So long as we vote the ticket of our masters, follow in the footsteps of so-called "good men"—who are our greatest enemies—just that long may we expect to be crushed by the courts and soldiers of the master class.

### A Traitor Train Crew

SOME of the railroad boys have been in the office this past month with some interesting points on the evolution of railroading. One of the comrades from Hammond, Indiana, brought news of the new "hog freight car," a huge, moving barn railway conveyance with two and a half times the capacity of the box cars in use in the world at this time. To render the use of the barn box cars practical, the railroads are planning to adopt an auxiliary six-foot standard roadbed. They claim that the mammoth box car will save handling, switching and hauling. Smaller cars may be coupled up in the trains with the large ones. The six-foot track will be obtained by laying an extra rail one foot four inches outside the present rails.

Our attention was called to a write-up in the (railroad) Employees' Magazine, wherein a Labor (?) Journal boasts of the record day's work performed by one train crew in one night. It says: "This crew went to work at Covington, Ky., at 6:00 p. m. with engine 441 and handled 50 loads from Covington to Riverside, returning from Riverside with five loads and 45 empties, picked up 35 empties at Covington and went to Silver Grove with 85 cars. Left there same night with 45 loads for Ivorydale and returned with 45 empties, turning in at Covington at 7:20 a. m., having handled 225 cars during the night." The Employees' Magazine (which should be called the EMPLOYERS' Magazine), continues: "This is the best day's work ever performed by a transfer engine on the Cincinnati Terminals and is greatly appreciated by the railroad company."

It OUGHT to be appreciated because work like this will enable the railroads to lay off thousands of men permanently and will tend to reduce wages because there will be just so many more railroad boys out of a job. If this crack COMPANY train crew had an ounce of brains in their heads they would LOAF ON THE JOB, do as little work as possible and help make work for MORE of the railroad boys instead of helping the company to cut down its force and to ultimately cut their own throats.

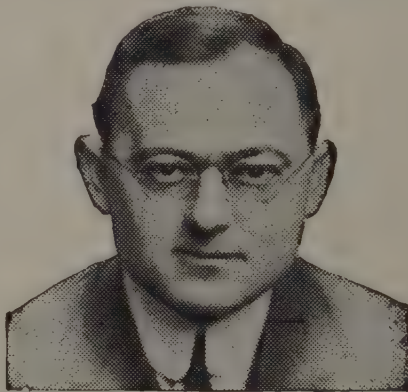
The idiot worker, who is zealous to work overtime, to do more work in a specified time, to look out always for the company interests, is the greatest menace to the working class today. He is aiding the exploiting companies to crush labor, to eliminate workers from their force. It is only a question of time till intelligent workers will realize this and will regard as bitterest enemies all train crews who OVER-work in the interests of the BOSS. Not MORE work for each man but LESS

## HOW I CURED MY CATARRH TOLD IN A SIMPLE WAY

Without Apparatus, Inhalers, Salves, Lotions,  
Harmful Drugs, Smoke or Electricity.

### Heals Day and Night

It is a new way. It is absolutely different. No lotions, sprays or sickly smelling salves or creams. No atomizer, or any apparatus of any kind. Nothing to smoke or inhale. No steaming or rubbing or injections. No electricity or vibration or massage. No powder; no plasters; no keeping in the house. Nothing of that kind at all. Something new and



different, something delightful and healthful, something instantly successful. You do not have to wait, and linger and pay out a lot of money. You can stop it over night—and I will gladly tell you how—FREE. I am not a doctor and this is not a so-called doctor's prescription—but I am cured and my friends are cured, and you can be cured. Your suffering will stop at once like magic.

### I Am Free—You Can Be Free

My catarrh was filthy and loathsome. It made me ill. It dulled my mind. It undermined my health and was weakening my will. The hawking, coughing, spitting made me obnoxious to all, and my foul breath and disgusting habits made even my loved ones avoid me secretly. My delight in life was dulled and my faculties impaired. I knew that in time it would bring me to an untimely grave, because every moment of the day and night it was slowly yet surely sapping my vitality.

But I found a cure, and I am ready to tell you about it FREE. Write me promptly.

### RISK JUST ONE CENT

Send no money. Just your name and address on a postal card, Say: "Dear Sam Katz: Please tell me how you cured your catarrh and how I can cure mine." That's all you need to say, I will understand, and I will write to you with complete information, FREE, at once. Do not delay. Send postal card or write me a letter today. Don't think of turning this page until you have asked for this wonderful treatment that can do for you what it has done for me.

SAM KATZ, Suite A1627

1325 Michigan Ave.,

Chicago, Ill.

work per man and more jobs is what we want. Think this over and show it to the boys in the round house or in the yards.

Just as we go to press we received the following letter from one of the class conscious trainmen at Hammond. He says: "On Nov. 21st, fifty cars loaded with horses from the Chicago Stock Yards were shipped over the C. & O. Railway to be used as cannon fodder in the European war. I understand fifty cars are also to go over the Erie.

The railroad boys are handling export goods to keep the big war going, when they could just as well help STOP the war. They have a wonderful power if they only realized it. If they only organized to FIGHT they could not only refuse to furnish fuel to continue the war in Europe, but they could PREVENT the United States from ever going to war; they could make it impossible to manufacture widows and orphans and dead soldiers in this and many other countries. They might even make an end of an army of unemployed and they could at least prove an almost invincible group in the fight to end poverty.

The railroad boys have more power than the men in any other industry. In twenty-four hours they could bring to their knees the masters who are riding on the backs of all the workers. Fellow railroadmen, if you have a spark of manhood left, SHOW IT. Let us get together and organize NOW to put an end to the system that is murdering our comrades

in Europe. Sooner or later the United States will be drawn into a "world's war." Are we going to remain silent until war is declared and we are forced to shoot each other for the pleasure and profit of the master class, just as we are now so badly prepared and organized that we are forced to help along the murder in Europe?

In times of peace we MUST PREPARE TO KEEP THE WORKING CLASS FROM GOING TO WAR!

## Tobacco Habit Easily Conquered

A New Yorker of wide experience, has written a book telling how the tobacco or snuff habit may be easily and completely banished in three days with delightful benefit. The author, Edward J. Woods, 242E, Station E, New York City, will mail his book free on request.

The health improves wonderfully after the nicotine poison is out of the system. Calmness, tranquil sleep, clear eyes, normal appetite, good digestion, manly vigor, strong memory and a general gain in efficiency are among the many benefits reported. Get rid of that nervous feeling; no more need of pipe, cigar, cigarette, snuff or chewing tobacco to pacify morbid desire.

ARTICLES OFFERED MACAZINES, BUT WERE RETURNED  
Polyandry, Divorce, White Slavery, Christian Science, The Suicide, Spiritualism, One Composite Race, Civil Marriage, Fear, Woman and the Land. Conscience. 50 cents for all—5 cts. each. All good and strong. Uncle Sam keeps 'em out of his library in Washington. Ralph Brandt, Trenton, N. J.

## The Trial of Antichrist : ¶ A History of the Holy Roman Catholic Church from 606 to 1800

This book is beyond question, the best ever written on the misdeeds of the Roman Church. It is written in the form of a state trial, with the Pope as defendant. The witnesses are those persons who have at various times suffered at his hands, such as Arnold, Lollard, Wickliff, Sawtre, Huss, Savonarola, Luther, and many others who were burned at the stake and otherwise murdered for daring to question the authority of the Pope. The whole work is remarkable for its adherence to facts, and references are freely given to add additional proof. There are 200 pages, all replete with *undisputable facts, printed in large, clear type, on good paper*, and substantially bound in cloth, and gold stamped on cover and back.

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# NEWS AND VIEWS



**Minneapolis to the Front.**—The Socialists of Minneapolis elected Dr. Charles F. Dight from the 12th ward as alderman of that city. Comrade Dight defeated his opponent by several hundred majority. He was formerly professor in the Hamline Medical School, and before that he was associated with the Michigan State University. Dr. Dight has built himself a unique home in Minneapolis. As the land he owned was swampy, he constructed a little bungalow on stilts, which we reproduce here

**From a Sour Dough.**—Comrade Mrs. Keil of Fairbanks, Alaska, sends us one of the most inspiring letters we received this month. She is enthusiastic in her praise of Mary Marcy's article on "Organize with the Unemployed" and reports that one of the old Sour Doughs said when he read it "That woman has a man's head." When we can please the Sour Doughs and the Blanket Stiffs and the men and women in the factories and mines we know we are on the right track. All we are here for is to SERVE the working class. Mrs. Keil concludes her interesting letter with "I sometimes wonder if the people who accuse us Socialists of BREAKING UP the homes ever dream of the sacrifices some of us make to keep the fire burning inside four walls." Every time we get a letter from our friends in Alaska it makes us resolve that we will do better work and give better service in the great fight we are all waging for the abolition of the profit system.

**Birth Prevention vs. War.**—Not long ago the Kaiser of Germany praised a German father for begetting a large family of boys, and told him to "continue the good work." Several of those boys are in the German

army and perhaps some of them are busy stopping bullets on the battle fields of France or are lying mangled beneath the wheels of the rushing artillery.

One of the reasons for this horrible war is said to be the need of more territory for the increasing population of Germany.

The Kaiser and others of the ruling class are opposed to married people of the working class taking steps to prevent conception. The churches also denounce it as a method of "robbing God of His children." If one could see the frightful scenes of wholesale murder being enacted on the war-crazed battlefields of Europe he would be inclined to think it a method of robbing hell of its demons. There are thousands and thousands of mangled, bleeding wretches writhing in agony in the hospitals and on the battle fields, longing for death and wishing they had never been born into a world cursed by poverty, war and a worse than brutal struggle for existence.

Think, men and women of the working class, before you put life in the world. Heed not the flattery of Kaisers and Roosevelts or the "robbing God" idiocy of the churches. Be your own God and rob this devilish capitalist system of scabs and cannon fodder.—John McDonough, Edgewood, Iowa.

**English Socialism.**—Comrade Editor: Re. "International Notes" printed under the name of Comrade Wm. E. Bohn in the November issue of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW; we wish to take exception to the following, quoted from above article: "And the position taken by the Socialist parties of England is just as clear and just as fine. The labour party has in part been pulled into the current of nationalist sentiment. But the labour party never was Socialist, and never pretended to be. The Socialists of England are not represented by it. As little are they represented by those curiously erratic English men of letters, who have sometimes posed as Socialist leaders. English Socialism speaks through the Independent Labour Party, and the British Socialist Party. It speaks through *Justice* and the *Labour Leader*. And it speaks in tones calculated to fire with new faith and hope the heart of every internationalist."

As a point of information, we would like to call Comrade Bohn's attention to the fact that the British Socialist Party never has, under any circumstances, voiced the sentiments of the revolutionary working class, and we challenge contradiction. Therefore we assert that the B. S. P. is unworthy a moment's consideration from the proletarian viewpoint.

We should also like to call the said comrade's attention to the fact that the Independent Labour party has at no time during its career posed as a Socialist organization until the advent of the present European conflict;

and right now there exists a diversity of opinion among its members as to the attitude of the revolutionary proletariat on the question of the war.

We enclose for Comrade Bohn's perusal a copy of the *Socialist Standard*, the official organ of the SOCIALIST Party of Great Britain, and we would especially urge him to give a moment's study to the "platform" contained therein and draw his comparisons with the platform of the B. S. P. We feel sure that the conclusions he will draw therefrom will be quite in accord with our assertions, that there is but one SOCIALIST PARTY active in Great Britain voicing at all times the interest of the working class, its slogan being "NO COMPROMISE, NO POLITICAL TRADING" and its demand nothing short of the complete overthrow of the wages system and the emancipation of enslaved labour. That party is the SOCIALIST Party of Great Britain, and not the British Socialist Party, or any other alleged Socialist organizations.

The function of any SOCIALIST PARTY should be at all times that of an educational force, ever pointing out to the workers that society as at present constituted is based upon the exploitation of labour, and the subsequent enslavement of the working class.

That the only means by which the workers can set themselves free from capitalist domination is by gaining control of the governmental forces through the conquest of political power, which is but an instrument held by the ruling class to aid them, first, to hold their slaves in subjection, and secondly in the conquest of new markets to dispose of the stolen product of labour. The B. S. Party has failed to do this, and can therefore be placed alongside the other reactionary elements of bourgeois society.

Trusting that you will find space to insert this letter in your magazine, we are, yours in revolt, The Hardy Bay Economic Club, Per John Lawson, Secty.-Treas.

**The Vancouver Island Strike.**—A comrade from South Wellington, B. C., writes: "I'd like to take advantage of your offers, but owing to the war, the sun spots and Halley's comet and the disastrous termination of the Vancouver Island strike, I cannot add to my library now. The mines here are working only two or three days a week, and the scabs are getting what they came for. The majority of the strikers here are unemployed and they are up against it. We are managing to organize some of the strike breakers. At the present time I am living with my family in a tent, and it rains eight days a week. Isn't it a glorious thing to live under the Union Jack? And some of the gold-tongued prostitutes of this rotten system say that I 'ought to go and fight for MY country.' The Germans can take 'MY' country any time and welcome to all they will get. They couldn't make a worse job of things than this government has done. There is one mighty good thing to say for this part of the country; when you consider how hungry some of us are, it is encouraging: They have not yet caught any of us to make cannon fodder, and the parson makes a poor showing, so WE ARE progressing."—From Comrade H.



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M. D. BETTS, Sta. 524, Jackson, Mich.





**Need an International Language.**—Comrade Charles Parker of New Zealand writes that after the war we will need—first of all—a study of Esperanto by the comrades in the various national Socialist groups in order to enable us to speak direct to each other, to communicate our thoughts in our program to eliminate future wars. He can supply books on Esperanto and all those interested may buy some of the little books that will enable them to write directly to our Chinese, Japanese and other comrades. The idea is an important one and we hope at least a score of our readers will take this matter up and study Esperanto. Comrade Charles Parker may be addressed at 118 Newton Road, Auckland, New Zealand.

**Everything Good.**—Comrade Jorgensen of Washington writes: "Everything in the REVIEW is good from the frontispiece to the News and Views. It catches me just right. The December number is the best yet. There never was a time when the Anti-War Propaganda was more needed."

**English Industrial Unions.**—We are indebted to Comrade J. C. Wills for a weekly news letter that is keeping us informed on the splendid work some of the boys are putting up to make the English Building Trades into a real industrial union. Their new Building Workers' Industrial Union "stands for One Industry, One Union, One Card," and has already grown so strong that the old labor reactionaries don't know whether to get in the current and try to reap some of the benefits or to keep on misrepresenting the new union and fighting it. Letters are being sent out to the societies already established in the building trades asking for suggestion and co-operation in fighting the new CLASS union. Wasn't it Old King Chanute who sat on the sands by the sea shore and commanded the tide to roll back? Some of the old sectional union advocates better read their histories a little. Perhaps they will understand then how futile have been the efforts of reactionaries these many, many years, in turning back the tide of evolution—industrial or economic. The boys in the new union say: "There can be no unity while the unions are split up into so many warring factions with their hands around one another's throats. There is only one way to unity and that is ONE UNION."

**From Two "Live Ones."**—Comrades Rehm of Springfield, Ohio, and Brandon of Carthage, Missouri, head the list of REVIEW hustlers during the past month by sending in 52 and 42 subscriptions respectively. We have some great plans for the future of the FIGHTING MAGAZINE during the coming year, which can be carried out with the co-operation of our readers. Let's all work together during the coming year even more effectively than in the past for revolutionary socialism and industrial unionism.

**Must Have the Review.**—A Michigan comrade in sending in his renewal added an interesting postscript as follows: "Your comrade is 67 years old, a bread winner for a little family of grandchildren, a Red Card member, and you can bet it is hard for me to save a cent from the capitalistic suction pump, but I must have the REVIEW."

## BROTHER

If you find tobacco is hurting you, or if you want to quit the nasty habit, gladly will I send particulars of pleasant tasting root, chewed like gum, quickly and easily overcomes the habit.

M. R. STOKES

MOHAWK, FLORIDA

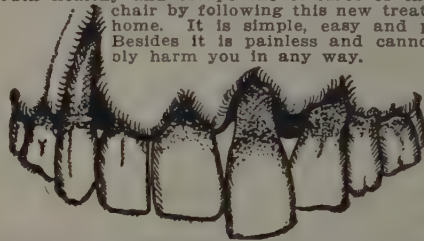
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You can save the teeth nature gave you, make your mouth healthy and escape the tortures of the dental chair by following this new treatment at home. It is simple, easy and pleasant. Besides it is painless and cannot possibly harm you in any way.



Thousands of mouths like this are seen every day. The trouble is known as Pyorrhea or Riggs Disease. These soft, discolored, bleeding, foul-smelling and receding gums, loosened and sensitive teeth can be made firm, strong and healthy by this simple Home Method.

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Write to us today and learn more about this painless, speedy, inexpensive remedy that you can use at home, so there will be no further need for you to undergo the long, painful or expensive dental treatment. Bridges, Crowns and False Teeth are unsightly and rarely satisfactory, and through this treatment of the causes of bad and sensitive teeth, gum disease and foul breath they should be unnecessary.

If you are suffering with Pyorrhea or Riggs Disease, gingivitis, receding gums, elongated or loose teeth; soft, discolored or spongy gums; if your breath is foul; if your teeth pain while eating; if you are subject to bad tastes—then, for your own sake, send for Dr. Willard's book and learn how easy his method is—how painless and speedy—how this simple remedy quickly and permanently gives sound, healthy teeth.

Just sit down NOW and write us for this free book. A few minutes will convince you that Dr. Willard's common-sense, simple Home Remedy is what you are looking for. Don't wait. There is no pain connected with it. We have received scores of letters from people saying they would have given hundreds of dollars had they known of Dr. Willard's Home Treatment in time. Address Dr. F. W. WILLARD, A622, Powers Bldg., Chicago.



## What Is It Makes Men Fight?

**I**N one short ugly sentence she had stripped him of his manhood. In a moment of jest, she had cut deep into his heart. As he lay gazing at the blinking stars and the shells that shrieked and burst, there again rang in his ear that mocking laugh which had sent him flying to the front. She had the prettiest hair, the brightest eyes, the most tantalizing smile in all San Augustine. He would SHOW the world that a lion's heart beat in his little body.

The war closed and he went home—a Colonel and a hero. San Augustine was frenzied over its native son. Straight up the path to her home, he walked—and then—the thing that happened wasn't at all what you think.

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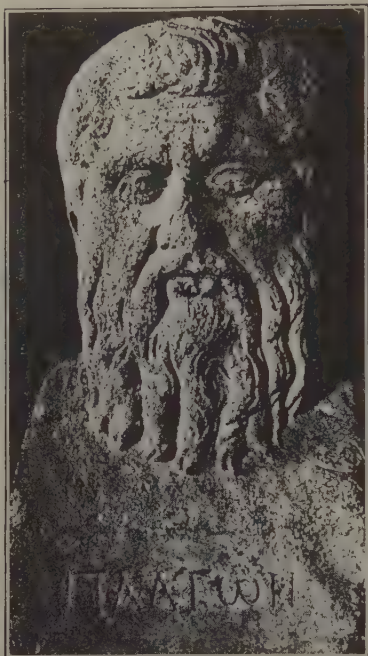
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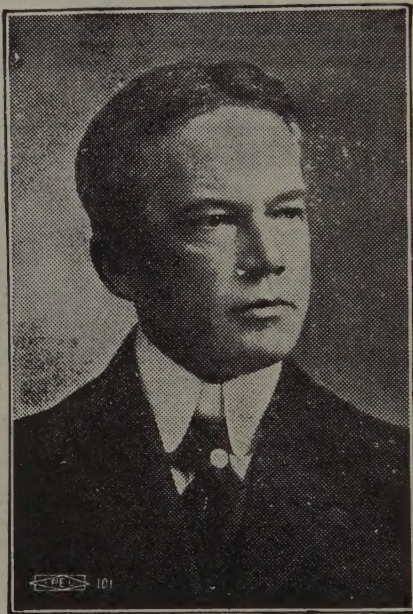
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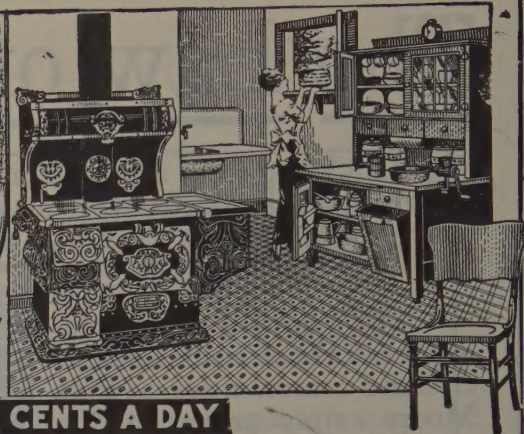
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